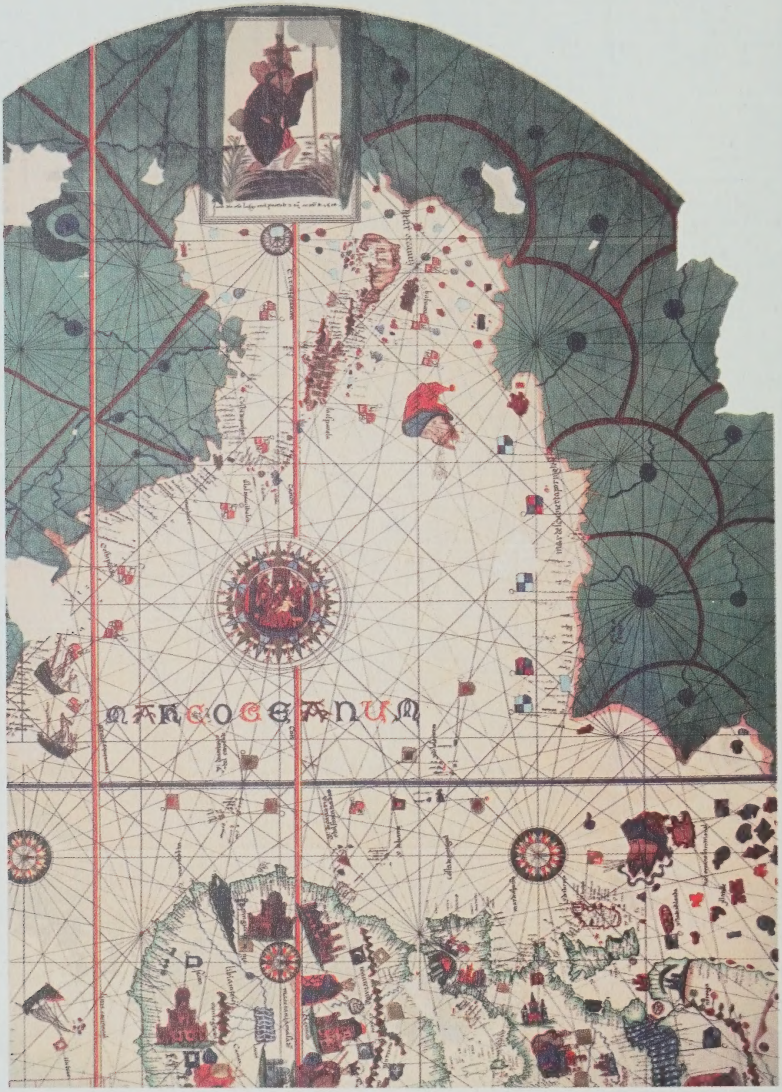

JUAN DE LA COSA MAP, 1500

Hopeful Travellers

Italian Explorers, Missionaries, Merchants,
and Adventurers
from the Middle Ages to Modern Times

BY ROBIN HEALEY

An Exhibition in the
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CONTENTS

Preface 7

Introduction 9

Journeys to the East 13

The Discovery of a New World 27

Merchants and Missionaries, Conquistadors and Colonizers 40

Pilgrim, Missionary, Mercenary, Tourist 57

Exploring and Researching the Old World and the New 69

For Knowledge and for Gain 81

To the Ends of the Earth 93

Littérateurs and Liars 103

Drama, Poetry, Fiction, and Explorers 116

Maps and Atlases 137

Bibliography 148

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The first professor of Italian at the University of Toronto arrived in 1853: he also taught French, German, and Spanish. The remarkable James Forneri was born in Raconigi, near Turin, in 1789 and educated as a lawyer. In 1812 he joined an elite cavalry regiment raised to fight for Napoleon against the Russians and was taken prisoner by the Cossacks in 1814. He returned to his law practice, but also joined the Carbonari which resulted in his exile to England in 1824 where he earned a precarious living teaching Italian. In 1836 he married Elizabeth Wells, the daughter of a prosperous merchant, and moved to Belfast to continue his academic career. A position at the Collegiate School of Windsor, Nova Scotia lured him to Canada in 1851 and when that failed due to lack of funding the family of ten moved to Toronto: James was then sixty-four years old. He held his professorship until 1866 and died in 1869. By then his department had been broken up into a series of lectureships according to the different languages.

The serious collecting of Italian literature and history did not begin until after the Great Fire of 1890 when, for instance, the library received, as a donation, the *Opere varie* of Giovanni Battista Piranesi. It is during the twentieth century, however, that concerted efforts have been made by Milton Buchanan, Beatrice Corrigan, and many others to systematically build the collections into what is now one of the foremost research resources of its kind. This great tradition has been continued by the Goggio family through their establishment of an acquisitions fund in memory of Emilio Goggio, a former Chair of the Department of Italian Studies.

This is the latest in a series of exhibitions curated by Robin Healey to draw upon the rich resources of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library and the library system of the University. Its theme is exploration through travel and the books chosen demonstrate how central

the traveller's experiences have been to Italian cultural experience and to the discovery of the world as we know it. James Forneri was a traveller whose journey began in Italy and ended in Toronto and he would, one feels, have appreciated this documentation of the heritage he brought to his adopted city.

On behalf of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, I would like to thank the Italian Cultural Institute of Toronto and the Friends of the Fisher Library for funding this catalogue.

Richard Landon, Director

> To travel hopefully is better than to arrive, and the true success is to labour.
>
> (Robert Louis Stevenson. 'El Dorado,' in *Virginibus puerisque*, 1881)

This exhibition is about travellers, and the exhibits are for the most part accounts of their travels. There are few restrictions: the journeys will be to anywhere in the world, at any time from the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries. Some of the books and maps that you will see were published as recently as this century, others were first printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The travellers' tales were most often written down by the travellers themselves, or perhaps dictated to amanuenses, soon after their return. Not all are truthful, though most claim to be. One restriction is self-evident: for the journeys to have been recorded at all they must have been at least partly successful. Dead explorers (given exceptions like Captain Scott) tell no tales. We would be much the poorer if Marco Polo had succumbed to a fever in Cathay, or if Columbus's little fleet had foundered on the far side of the Ocean Sea. The discoveries would still have been made, and reported, and reputations made, and fame distributed, but other names would now be as familiar to us as those of John Cabot or Amerigo Vespucci. The second restriction is more interesting and is the one that has given shape and structure to the exhibition: each of my explorers and cartographers is Italian. They are all men – for the cultures of the times, even into the twentieth century, excluded Italian women from such ventures - and all born within the borders of what is now the nation of Italy. But the closely-knit geographical entity that is Italy only developed into a nation in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the Italians who travelled so far and with such success did so for themselves and their cities, like the Polos, or for their church, like Odoric of Pordenone, or for other countries -

for Spain, for Portugal, for England, or for France, like Columbus, Cadamosto, Cabot, and Verrazzano. I shall set aside the question of why these Italians, living at the centre of the Mediterranean region, with opportunities for trade, profit, and God's work close by on every side, chose to cross the deserts, the oceans, and the mountains. Suffice to say that they did, and the world was changed, and they were rewarded. But far greater rewards were taken by the expanding nation-states of Western Europe.

Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) was a sick man for much of his life, but he was driven to write, and he delighted in travel. The essays gathered in *Virginibus puerisque* are among his earliest pieces, written for journals, and the motto I have chosen could as well be taken as descriptive of his own life as of the many hopeful travellers who appear in this exhibition. From the explorers point of view, however, there is a certain irony in Stevenson's choice of the title 'El Dorado,' the legendary treasure city of South America sought by the early Spanish explorers. El Dorado is a chimaera, but the Spaniards, and the others, found and took, often by force, many of the things that they were looking for: gold, silver, precious stones, spices, and slaves. Everywhere they went, with the exception of a few isolated and uninhabited islands, the explorers met people, and the ancestors of those people, too, would have been hopeful travellers - as many as thousands of years before in the Americas, or as few as hundreds of years before in New Zealand. And even those earlier travellers frequently found people already thriving in their new found lands, as the Bantu-speaking peoples met the Khoisan-speaking peoples, the Bushmen and the Hottentots in southern Africa, and they themselves found first the Portuguese, and then the Dutch, and then the English encroaching from the ocean. None had a monopoly in virtue, but some were better armed, and more politically adept.

The arrangement of the main part of the exhibition is chronological, progressing from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the first case, to the twentieth century in the seventh case. The books are a mixture of original editions, and more recent editions and facsimiles.

I had at first thought to pass over such major figures as Christopher Columbus and Marco Polo because, after all, everybody knows about them. But when I came to ask myself how much I actually did know about them the honest answer was, very little - for Columbus, a date, 1492; the *Santa Maria*, *Pinta*, and *Niña*; an attempted mutiny; his determination to push onward; Ferdinand and Isabella in the background - and I decided it was necessary to include them. It is no coincidence that Polo and Columbus were also favourite subjects for literary treatment. Poetry, drama, and fiction about Italian explorers are to be found in the Maclean Hunter Reading Room corner cases, and of the twenty titles selected, eleven are on Columbus, seven on Polo, one on Magellan, and one on the Cabot family. The walls and the freestanding cases in the Reading Room are largely devoted to atlases and maps; some in the original editions, and some very rare items in facsimile reproductions.

It is always a pleasure to be able to choose the materials for an exhibition from the Fisher Library, whose collections have provided the greatest number of the narratives, atlases, and maps that you see. The Robarts Library and the Map Library have supplied several items; for example the reproduction of Waldseemüller's world map of 1507 in the Reading Room, and the newly-edited account of Malaspina's expedition of 1789 to 1794 in the sixth case. My thanks also to the Royal Ontario Museum and to librarian Arthur Smith for the loan of some important nineteenth-century books. A few odds and ends have come from my own shelves. Serendipity is always at work, and functions for commoners as well as for princes (see Case 8): one item was found among the boxes of 'freebies' put out for students and other acquisitive passers-by in Woodsworth College. My own favourites from Fisher are Sansevero's eighteenth-century book on the Inca quipu, with its interesting origin and lovely illustrations; and the new facsimile edition of the 1502 *Carta del Cantino*, which was published at precisely the right time, and which I was able to buy through the generosity of the Goggio family, as representative of the wonderful assembly of benefactors, past and present, who have made this

exhibition possible. The staff of the Fisher library are always ready to share their knowledge, suggest items that I had 'overlooked' (that is, that I was unaware of), and smooth the physical process of putting an exhibition together. For this exhibition, my fifth for the Rare Book Library, my particular thanks go to Pearce Carefoote, chair of the exhibition committee and dismayingly thorough proofreader, and Linda Joy, who knows how to mount and present to the best advantage the most intractable of items.

The work of assembling an exhibition inevitably embraces compromise and failure, but Stevenson's little essay, which provided me with my motto, also gives encouragement to explorers and scholars both, and to us all. He writes:

> We may study for ever, and we are never as learned as we would. ... And when we have discovered a continent, or crossed a chain of mountains, it is only to find another ocean or another plain upon the further side. In the infinite universe there is room for our swiftest diligence and to spare. ... Even in a corner of it, in a private park, or in the neighbourhood of a single hamlet, the weather and the seasons keep so deftly changing that although we walk there for a lifetime there will always be something new to startle and delight us.

Robin Healey

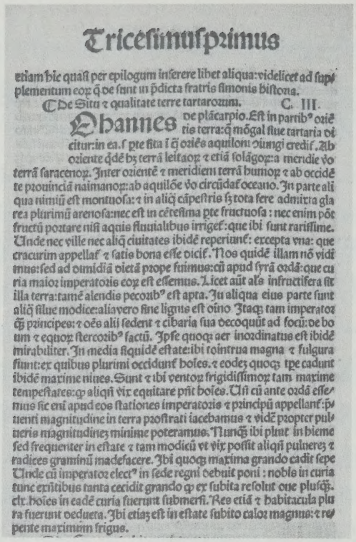
CASE ONE

JOURNEYS TO THE EAST

The thirteenth century was not among the best of times to live in the eastern marches of Europe. Genghis, or Chinggis Khan (1162-1227) was proclaimed leader of the Turco-Mongol tribes in 1206, and his conquests began from that date. Within a few years Iran, the Caucasus, Ukraine, the Crimea, Russia, Siberia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Kashmir had all fallen to the Mongol forces. In Bokhara (the modern Bukhara, Uzbekistan) Genghis admonished the terrified citizens, 'I am the punishment of God. If you had not sinned he would not have sent me.' Ghenghis Khan died of a fever in 1227, but in 1229 his son Ögödei assumed his office and the conquests resumed. George Lane writes:

> In the 1230s Batu Khan and his Golden Horde were extending their territory deep into Eastern Europe, and terrifying tales of the Mongols began to invade the nightmares of Europeans. In 1240 Kiev was captured and destroyed. In 1241 the Polish army was defeated at Liegnitz, and the victorious Mongols then continued to devastate Moravia and Silesia before capturing Hungary itself. (2004: xxxiv)

For many, the Mongols are equated with barbarian rule and destruction, but the reality of two centuries of Mongol ascendancy was often one of regeneration, creativity, and growth (Lane, 2004: xxxiv).



Tricesimusprimus

etiam hic quasi per epilogum inserere libet aliqua: videlicet ad supplementum eoz q̄ de sunt in p̄dicta fratris simonis historia.

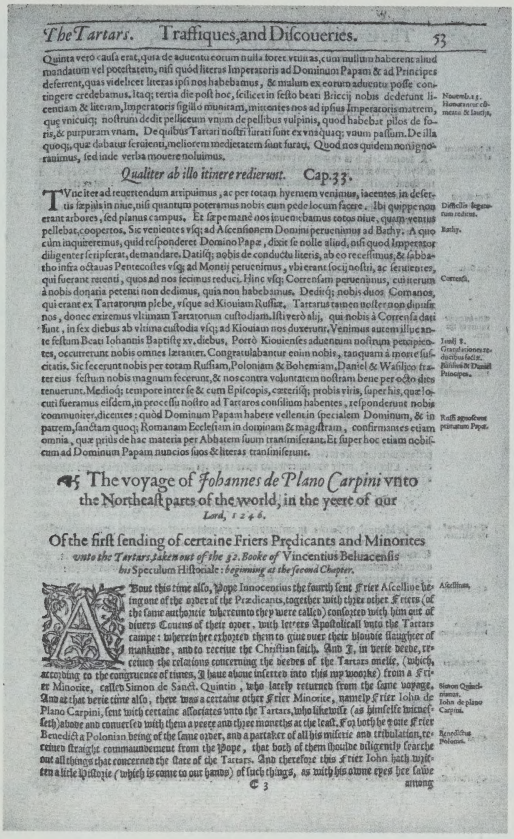
C De Situ & qualitate terre tartarorum. C. III.

Johannes de plācarpio. Est in partib⁹ oriētis terra: q̄ mogal siue tartaria dicitur: in ea. s. pte sita ī q̄ oriēs aquilon⁹ coniungi credit. Ab oriente ḡdē hz terrā leitaoz: & etiā solagoz: a meridie vo terrā saracenoz. Inter orientē & meridiem terrā humoz & ab occidente p̄uincii naimanoz: ab aquilōe vo circūdat oceanus. In parte aliqua nimiū est montuosa: & in aliq̄ cāpestria ī tota fere admitia gla rea plurimū arenosa nec est in ea frēdina pte fructuosa: nec enim pōt fructū portare nisi aquis fluuialibus irrigef: que ibi sunt rarissime. Unde nec ville nec aliq̄ ciuitates ibidē reperiunt: excepta vna: que crascurim appellat & satis bona esse dicit. Nos quidē illam nō vidimus: sed ad omnidiā viā a prope fuimus: cū apud syrā oxdā: que ciuitas maioz imperatoris coz est essemus. Licet aūt alīs infructifera sit illa terra: tamē alendis pecoib⁹ est apta. In aliqua eius parte sunt aliq̄ siluę modice: aliavero sine lignis est omo. Itaq; tam imperatoz q̄ principes: & oēs alii sedent & cibaria sua decoquūt ad focū: de bo um & eqnoz stercoib⁹ factū. Ipse quoq; aer inoadinatus est ibidē mirabiliter. In media siquidē estate: ibi tonitrua magna & fulgura fiunt: & quibus plurimi occidunt boues. & eodē quoq; tpe cadunt ibidē maxime nines. Sunt & ibi venti frigidissimi tam maxime tempestates: q̄ aliqñ vix equitare p̄t boues. Usi cū ante oxdā essemus sic enī apud eos stationes imperatoris & p̄ncipū appellant: ībi tenti magnitudine in terra p̄ostrati iacebamus & vidē propter pulueris magnitudinē minime poteramus. Nunq̄ ibi plut in hieme sed frequenter in estate & tam modicū vt vix possit aliq̄ pulueres & radices graminū madefacere. Ibi quoq; maxima grando cadit sepe Unde cū imperator elect⁹ in sede regni debuit poni: nobiles in curia tunc erātibus tanta cecidit grando q̄ ex subita resolut one pluriū. etc. boues in eadē curia fuerunt submersi. Res etiā & habitacula plura fuerunt oducta. Ibi etiaz est in estate subito calor magnus: & repente maximus frigus.

1 Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264). *Speculum historiale*. Venice: Hermannus Liechtenstein, 1494.

2 Richard Hakluyt (1552?-1616). *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-Land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at any Time within the Compass of these 1500 Yeeres*. London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker, 1598-1600.

The Mongols were willing to allow visitors from the West to travel through their territories, and one of the first of these to write about his experiences was John of Pian de Carpini (ca. 1182-1252). In 1245 John was chosen by Pope Innocent IV to lead a mission (really more in the nature of a diplomatic reconnaissance) to the Mongol Khan. John was then more than sixty years old, and reportedly very heavy and fat. He and his companions suffered great deprivations on their journey, often sleeping on the bare ground and having little or nothing to eat. Their route took them through Kiev, passing to the north of the Caspian and Aral seas, and into Mongolia. They arrived at the imperial summer



The Tartars. Traffiques, and Discoueries. 53

Quinta verò causa erat, quia de aduentu eorum nulla foret vtilitas, cum nullum haberent aliud mandatum vel potestatem, nisi quòd literas Imperatoris ad Dominum Papam & ad Principes deferrent, quas videlicet literas ipsi nos habebamus, & malum ex eorum aduentu posse contingere credebamus. Itaq; tertia die post hoc, scilicet in festo beati Briccij nobis dederunt licentiam & literas, Imperatoris sigillo munitam, mittentes nos ad ipsius Imperatoris matrem, quę vnicuiq; nostrum dedit pelliceum vnum de pellibus vulpinis, quod habebat plus de foris, & purpuram vnam. De quibus Tartari nostri furati sunt ex vna quaq; vnam passum. De illa quoq; quæ dabatur seruienti, meliorem medietatem sunt furati, Quod nos quidem non ingrauiuimus, sed inde verba mouere noluimus.

Nouembr. 23. Honorarium clericatus & laicis.

Qualiter ab illo itinere redierunt. Cap. 33.

TVnc iter ad reuertendum arripuimus, ac per totam hyemem veniendo, iacentes in desertis & pessimis in aqua, nisi quantum poteramus nobis eam pede locum facere. Ibi quippe non erant arbores, sed planus campus. Et sæpe manè nos inuenebamus cooperti nive, quam ventus pellebat, cooperiebat. Sic venientes vsq; ad Ascensionem Domini peruenimus ad Bathy. A quo cùm inquireremus, quid responderet Domino Papæ, dixit se nolle aliud, nisi quod Imperator diligenter scripserat, demandare. Datisq; nobis de conductu literis, ab eo recessimus, & sabbatho infra octauas Pentecostes vsq; ad Monetj peruenimus, vbi erant socij nostri, ac seruientes, qui fuerant reuenti, quos ad nos iecimus reduci. Hinc vsq; Corensam peruenimus, cuiterum à nobis donaria petenti non dedimus, quia non habebamus. Dedit q; nobis duos Comanos, qui erant ex Tartarorum plebe, vique ad Kiouiam Russiæ. Tartarus tamen noster non dimisit nos, donec exiremus vltimam Tartarorum custodiam. Illinc vsq; ad Kiouiam nos duxerunt. Veniimus autem ad primam Russiæ ciuitatem Scachouiam. Inde ad ciuitatem Chernigou. Inde ad ciuitatem Kiouiam. Vbi in ipsa ciuitate & in ipsa via per totum fere mensem, ita quòd vix vnus ex nobis euaserit vel vna persona, quæ non fuerit vulnerata vel percussa. Ibi enim in festum Beati Iohannis Baptistæ xv. diebus, Porrò Kiouienses aduentum nostrum perspicientes, occurrerunt nobis omnes lætanter. Congratulabantur enim nobis, tanquam à morte suscitatis. Sic fecerunt nobis per totam Russiam, Poloniam & Bohemiam, Daniel & Wasilico frater eius festum nobis magnum fecerunt, & nos contra voluntatem nostram bene per octo dies tenuerunt. Medio q; tempore inter se & cum Episcopis, cæterisq; probis viris, super his, quæ locuti fueramus eisdem, in proceßu nostro ad Tartaros consilium habentes, responderunt nobis communiter, dicentes: quòd Dominum Papam habere vellemus specialem Dominum, & in patrem, sanctam quoq; Romanam Ecclesiam in dominam & magistram, confirmantes etiam omnia, quæ prius de hac materia per Abbatem suum transmiserant. Et super hoc etiam nobiscum ad Dominum Papam nuncios suos & literas transmiserunt.

Corensa.

Decßio fugientium redeun.

Ruthy.

Iouii 8. Granationem reductibus facit. Basilius & Daniel Principes.

Russi agnoßunt patriarcham Papæ.

The voyage of *Iohannes de Plano Carpini* vnto the Northeast parts of the world, in the yeere of our *Lord, 1246.*

Of the first sending of certaine Friers Predicants and Minorites *vnto the Tartars, taken out of the 32. Booke of* Vincentius Beluacensis *his* Speculum Historiale: *beginning at the second Chapter.*

Ascelinus.

ABout this time also, Pope Innocentius the fourth sent Frier Ascelline being one of the order of the Predicants, together with three other Friers (of the same authority who vnto they were called) conioyned with him out of diuers Conuents of their order, with letters Apostolicall vnto the Tartars: wherein he exhorted them to giue ouer their bloudie slaughter of mankinde, and to receive the Christian faith. And I, in verie deede, received the relations concerning the deedes of the Tartars anelle, (which, according to the conjuncture of times, I haue alwaie inserted into this my worke) from a Frier Minorite, called Simon de Sancti Quintin, who lately returned from the same voyage. And at that verie time also, there was a certaine other Frier Minorite, namelp Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, sent with certaine associates vnto the Tartars, who likewise (as himselfe incerfeth) abode and conuersed with them a yeere and three monethes at the least. For both he and Frier Benedict a Polonian being of the same order, and a partaker of all his miserie and tribulation, receiued straight commaundement from the Pope, that both of them should diligently searche out all things that concerned the state of the Tartars. And therefore this Frier Iohn hath written a little Historie (which is come to our handes) of such things, as with his owne eyes hee saw among

Simon Quincticensis. Iohn de plano Carpini.

Benedictus Polonus.

encampment near Karakorum, where they witnessed the enthronement of the Khan Kuyuk, grandson of Genghis. Carpini invited the Khan to become a Christian, but he replied by dictating a letter to the Pope which asked him and the Christian princes to come to the East and swear allegiance to the Khan. Carpini delivered this document to the Pope at Lyon in 1247, and it survives in the Vatican Archives. His account of the mission does give us the first description by a European of the Mongol way of life - he mentions the clothing made of skins, the felt-covered dwellings, and the Mongols' fondness for fermented mare's milk. Much of the information in John's *Historia Mongolorum* was incorporated by Vincent of Beauvais into the *Speculum historiale* volume of his popular encyclopaedia, which brought the history of the world to A.D. 1250. An incunable edition of Vincent's book is shown here.

3 Marco Polo (1254-1324). *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo: together with the Travels of Nicolò de' Conti*. London: The Argonaut Press, 1929.

4 Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485-1557). *Delle navigationi et viaggi*. Venice: Giunti, 1559-1565. Volume 1.

The story of Marco Polo is the best known of all the early travels to the East, though more people recognize his name than would have learned the details of his story. In 1298, three years after his return from China, Polo was a captive of the Genoese, the great rivals in the sea trade of Polo's Venice, and told the story of his travels in the East to a fellow prisoner (and experienced writer of romances), Rustichello of Pisa. The story, originally known as *Divisament dou monde, 'Description of the World,'* was set down in a Franco-Italian dialect used during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Manuscript copies of the book spread throughout Italy in a matter of months, according to the sixteenth-century compiler of travel narratives Giovanni Battista Ramusio. Some 140 manuscript versions in a dozen different languages and dialects have survived, and the textual problems are immense. Also, as the *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* notes: 'people read the book for the wrong reasons - not as history, geography, or travel but as a fantastic romance in which Kublai Khan was ranked with King Arthur and Cathay became a new province in the dreamy topography of chivalry.' (1985, v. 9: 573) Marco seems to have added to, or corrected, various copies of his work later in his life, while priestly editors censored the text of any passages which smacked of heresy.

The outline of the story is simple enough. Marco's father Niccolò and uncle Maffeo, Venetian merchant venturers, travelled across Asia and the Far East in search of goods and profit from 1260 to 1269. In the course of their travels they came before Kublai Khan (1216-1294) at his capital Cambaluc (Beijing). He told them that they should return to his court bearing with them oil from the lamp of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and missionaries to teach the Chinese about Christianity (Lane, 2004: 115). Marco was about seventeen in 1271, when he set out with his father and uncle on their second journey to the East. Two friars, the missionaries designated to accompany them, soon left the expedition. The Polos followed a more southerly route than that of John of Pian de Carpini, passing through Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, Balkh, the ancient capital of Bactria, in Afghanistan near the River Oxus, and eventually reaching the Mongol summer capital at Xanadu (Shangtu) some time in 1274 or 1275. They lived in the Emperor's domains for the next sixteen or seventeen years. Lane writes:

> The young Marco Polo, who was quick to learn the language and customs of his new home, was especially welcome at the court, and [Kublai] soon found him employment. His public work involved extensive travel. During these trips as a visiting

> administrator, Marco Polo made extensive notes and delighted audiences back at court with his tales of the strange lands he had visited. (2004: 116)

It is unfortunate that, as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* notes, Marco's book is only incidentally a biography and autobiography, and it is therefore exceedingly difficult to ascertain where the Polos went and what they did during these years. It is well known that many foreigners were in the employ of the Mongol state, since the Chinese were mistrusted; it was therefore natural for the Polos to fit in most honourably and successfully with this motley society. (1985, vol. 9: 572)

Kublai Khan was, we learn, much impressed by the young Marco, who served him in a variety of diplomatic posts and missions over the seventeen years. Marco's official travels took him all over China and Southeast Asia. He is said to have visited Tibet, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Indonesian islands, as well as Mongolia and eastern Siberia. For three years, from 1282 to 1285, Marco is said to have served as the governor of the city of Yangchow, in Kansu (Gansu) province - though this seemed 'hardly credible' to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. By 1292, Kublai was an old man of seventy-six, and the brothers, who had become wealthy from their trading activities, wished to return to Venice. With Marco, they were able to negotiate the task of escorting a princess from the Khan's court to her intended husband Argun Khan of Iran. The journey of the fleet of fourteen ships, along the Chinese and Southeast Asian coastline, through the Strait of Malacca, past the Andaman Islands, to Sri Lanka and India, then northwest along the better-known coasts of India, Pakistan, and Iran, and finally anchoring back at Hormuz, took them two years, and cost the lives of six hundred men. By the time the Polos arrived back in Italy in 1295 both Kublai Khan and Argun Khan were dead.

Marco survived his imprisonment in Genoa and returned to Venice, where he lived, a relatively wealthy merchant, to the age of seventy. It is known that in his will he freed and endowed a 'Tatar slave,' who may possibly have followed him all the way from East

Asia. Marco was the first European to describe the use of paper and the Chinese method of printing from wooden blocks, paper money, and the use of coal; though his failure to mention the Great Wall of China, the use of tea, and the Chinese ideographic script was later used to cast doubts on his veracity. His description of Japan influenced the goal for Columbus in his voyage of 1492 (Columbus's annotated copy of an edition of Polo's travels still exists in the Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla), and when he reached the West Indies Columbus believed that he had found Japan, or some other outlying islands of Asia.

5 *Cathay and the Way thither: being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China.* Translated and edited by Colonel Sir Henry Yule. New edition, revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1913-1916.

Blessed Odoric of Pordenone entered the Franciscan order at their convent in Udine about the year 1300. He soon became noted for his asceticism and sanctity. He lived on bread and water, and went barefoot. Miracles were being ascribed to him even before he began his journey into the East, and a commission for his canonization was still active in 2000. His was a missionary expedition, unlike the quasi-diplomatic mission of John of Pian de Carpini. The decline and fragmentation of the Mongol empire had made the northern route through Central Asia less attractive to travellers, so in 1318 Odoric took a southern route through India and Sri Lanka, the Indonesian islands, through Vietnam to Canton, and eventually to the capital at Beijing, where the aged John of Montecorvino (1247-1328) was still archbishop. Odoric remained in northern China until about 1328. For his homeward journey he took an overland route through Tibet, the Hindu Kush, and Persia. He reached Italy safely in 1330, and dictated an account of his experiences over the twelve years of his travels while at the monastery of Saint Anthony at Padua. He died in

his convent at Udine in January, 1331. Soon after his death his fame as saint and traveller had spread far and wide. In the course of his travels he was said to have made as many as ten thousand converts to Christianity. Passages from the account of his travels were widely spread by Mandeville's plagiarisms (see Case 8). Odoric had heard many fabulous stories, which he recorded along with his eye-witness accounts. He was the first traveller after Marco Polo to describe the Far East, and he recorded many things which Polo neglected to mention, such as fishing with cormorants, the long finger nails of the nobility, and the binding of women's feet. The English translation made by Yule includes this description of the Great Khan's palace at Cambalech, or Cambaluc, the present-day Beijing:

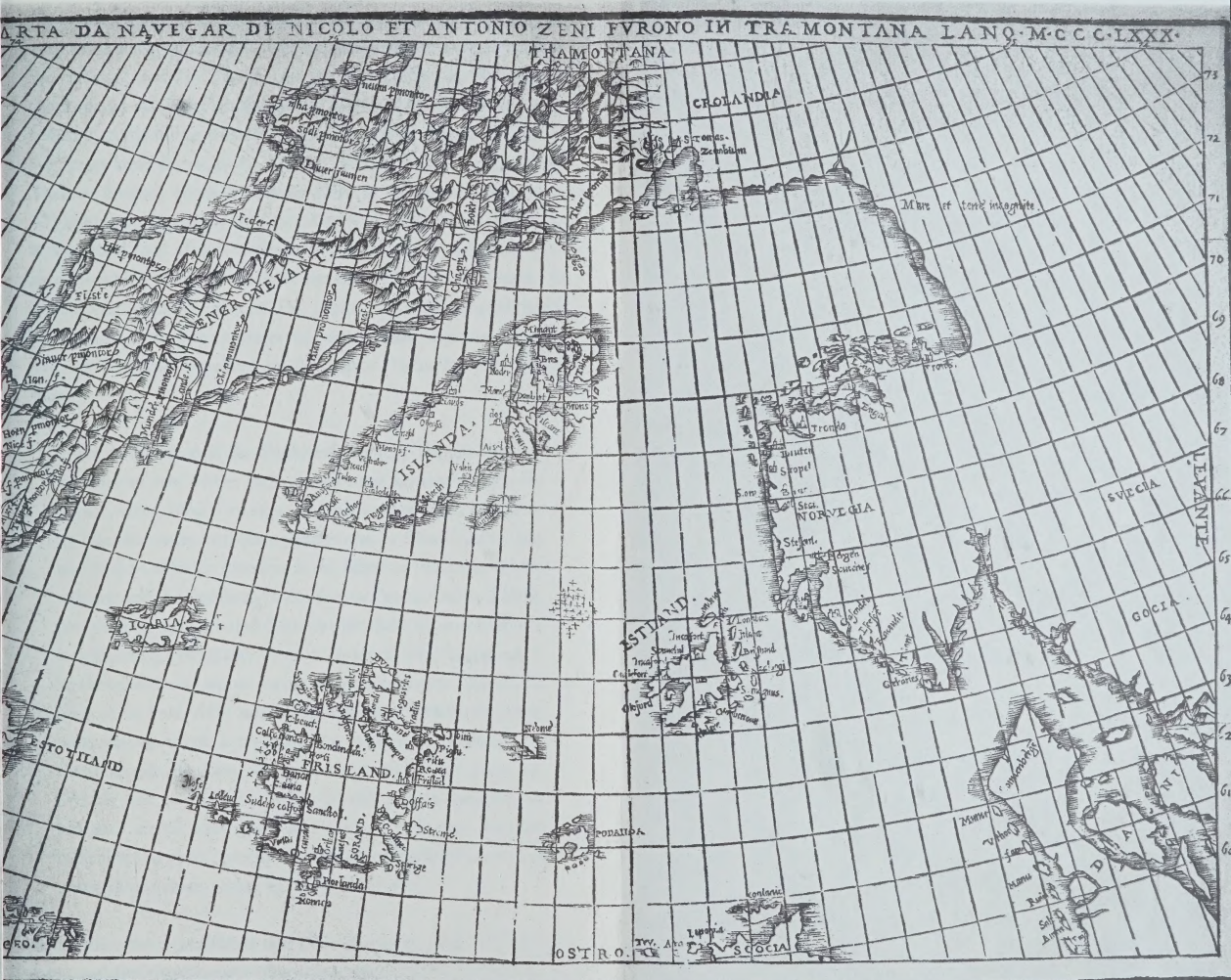
> But his own palace in which he dwells is of vast size and splendour. The basement thereof is raised about two paces from the ground, and within there be four-and-twenty columns of gold; and all the walls are hung with skins of red leather, said to be the

finest in the world. In the midst of the palace is a certain great jar, more than two paces in height, entirely formed of a certain precious stone called Merdacas [jade], and so fine, that I was told its price exceeded the value of four great towns. It is all hooped round with gold, and in every corner thereof is a dragon represented as in act to strike most fiercely. And this jar hath also fringes of network of great pearls hanging therefrom, and these fringes are a span in breadth. Into this vessel drink is conveyed by certain conduits from the court of the palace; and beside it are many golden goblets from which those drink who list. In the hall of the palace also are many peacocks of gold. And when any of the Tartars wish to amuse their lord then they go one after the other and clap their hands; upon which the peacocks flap their wings, and make as if they would dance. Now this must be done either by diabolic art, or by some engine underground. (1913, vol. 2: 219-222)

6 Niccolò Zeno (1515-1565). *De i commentarii del viaggio in Persia di M. Caterino Zeno il K. & delle guerre fatte nell'imperio persiano, dal tempo di Ussuncassano in quà, libri due; et dello scoprimento dell'isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrouelanda, Estotilanda, & Icaria, fatto sotto il polo artico, da due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolò il K. e M. Antonio, libro uno.* Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1558.

7 Fred W. Lucas. *The Annals of the Voyages of the Brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno in the North Atlantic about the End of the Fourteenth Century, and the Claim Founded thereon to a Venetian Discovery of America: A Criticism and an Indictment.* London: Stevens, 1898.

8 Ptolemy (2nd cent.). *La geografia.* Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1561.



From Zeno's Commentaries Venice 1558

The most notable and successful travels of Italian missionaries and merchants in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were directed to the east and south, to 'Cathay and the way thither,' as Henry Yule titled his set of books published for the Hakluyt Society in 1866. Italian journeys to the north and west gained some attention when, a few years later, in 1873, the Society published *The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers, Nicolò & Antonio Zeno, to the Northern Seas in the XIVth Century, comprising the Latest Known Accounts of the Lost Colony of Greenland; and of the Northmen in America before Columbus.* The account which provided the basis for the translation is included in Niccolò Zeno's book of 1558. The junior Zeno states that he based his story on some poorly preserved papers belonging to the family. The brief outline presented by the editor Richard Henry Major states:

> Towards the close of the fourteenth century Nicolò Zeno, a member of one of the noblest and most ancient families in Venice, went, at his own expense, on a voyage rather of curiosity than discovery into the northern seas. ... Nicolò Zeno was wrecked on what he describes as the Island of Frislanda, which will presently be shown to be the Faeroe Group, and he and his companions were rescued from the wreckers by the chief of a neighbouring principality, named Zichmni, who happened to be there, and into whose service he entered in the capacity of pilot of his fleet. After remaining with this chieftain for some time, during which is recorded the conquest of Frislanda by Zichmni, Nicolò Zeno wrote home to his brother Antonio, inviting him to join him, which he did. Nicolò survived his brother's arrival four years, and died in Frislanda. Antonio remained ten years more in the service of Zichmni, and then returned to Venice, where he died. (1873: iv-v)

It has since been established that Niccolò made a will in Venice in 1400, and died there in 1402. The suggestion, accepted in the entry on

the brothers as possible early visitors to Canada in the first volume of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, that the whole narrative is simply a crude fabrication, represents one extreme of opinion. Some recent scholarship does support the idea that the voyage actually took place - if not precisely as described - that Frisland can indeed be identified with the Faeroes, and Estland with the Shetlands. Waldman and Wexler note: 'Particular interest has been shown recently in Zeno's description of the river of bitumen flowing into the sea, which scholars have attempted to identify with that found on the Nugssuaq Peninsula north of Disko Bay' on the west coast of Greenland (1992: 1131). Though the voyage may have been real, the map produced by Niccolò was not. T. J. Oleson comments:

> The importance of the Zeno fabrications lies, not so much in the narrative, but in the map of the north Atlantic appended to this. It was accepted as genuine for more than a hundred years after its publication in 1558 and its mythical islands and fantastic names found their way onto several maps, including Mercator's map of 1569 and that of Ortelius, 1570, and misled geographers and mariners for many decades, for example, Frobisher, who seems to have thought that the east coast of Greenland was the 'Frisland' of the Zeno map. It has, however, been shown conclusively that the Zeno map was based on the 1537 map of the northern regions executed by the Swede Olaus Magnus and on the 15th-century map of the Dane Claudius Clavus. The search for the northwest passage may have been at least in part prompted by study of the Zeno map. (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, v. 1: 680)

The facsimile of Zeno's *Carta del navegar*, from a copy in the British Library, was published in Fred W. Lucas's book on the brothers' story and its influence on geographical thought from the seventeenth century forward. Its features are reproduced almost exactly in a map in the 1561 Italian translation of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, and in the edition

of 1598. Lucas believed that both map and narrative were the fabrications of the younger Zeno, and concludes that Zeno's work has been one of the most ingenious, most successful, and most enduring literary impostures which has ever gulled a confiding public' (1898: 157). But the facts of the case are, even now, still under dispute.

Small Indian Vessels used on the Coast of Malabar.

N°. XV. Plate 1. Vol. 1.

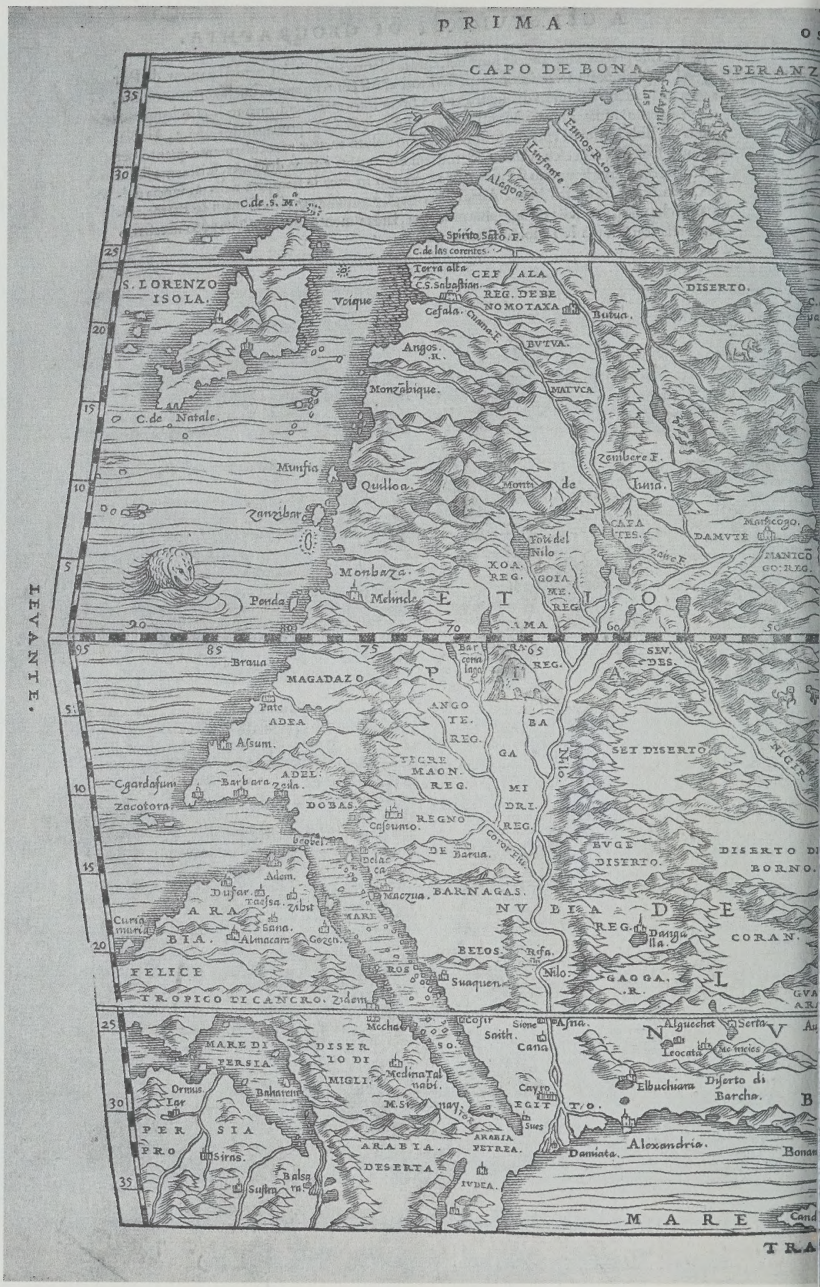
CASE TWO

THE DISCOVERY OF A NEW WORLD

The Italian travellers to the East of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were either missionaries travelling for the love of Christ and the benefit of his Church, like Odoric, or merchants in search of profitable goods to trade for and to bring home, like the Polos. The Italian travellers to the south and west of the fifteenth century were explorers and adventurers - in search of profit, yes, and hoping to advance the dominion of the true Church, perhaps - in the service of foreign monarchs. Italy remained fragmented, and it was the kingdoms of the Iberian peninsula, at the western and southern limits of continental Europe, which sought to extend their influence south along the coast of Africa and west into the islands of the Atlantic. Prince Henry of Portugal, known as the Navigator (1394-1460), was always on the lookout for experienced mariners who were willing to sail south in his service along the west coast of Africa to establish trade contacts with peoples in the sub-Saharan region - that is, beyond the control of the Moslem nations to the north - and to search for a sea route to the Orient. In 1454 Henry heard that the trading ship of the Venetian Alvise da Cadamosto (1432-1488) had been driven ashore on the Portuguese coast. Cadamosto was engaged in the maritime trade between Italy and the Flemish ports, in an attempt to restore the lost fortunes of his family, after he had been banished from Venice in 1453. After some negotiation, he left the Venetian fleet to enter Henry's service.

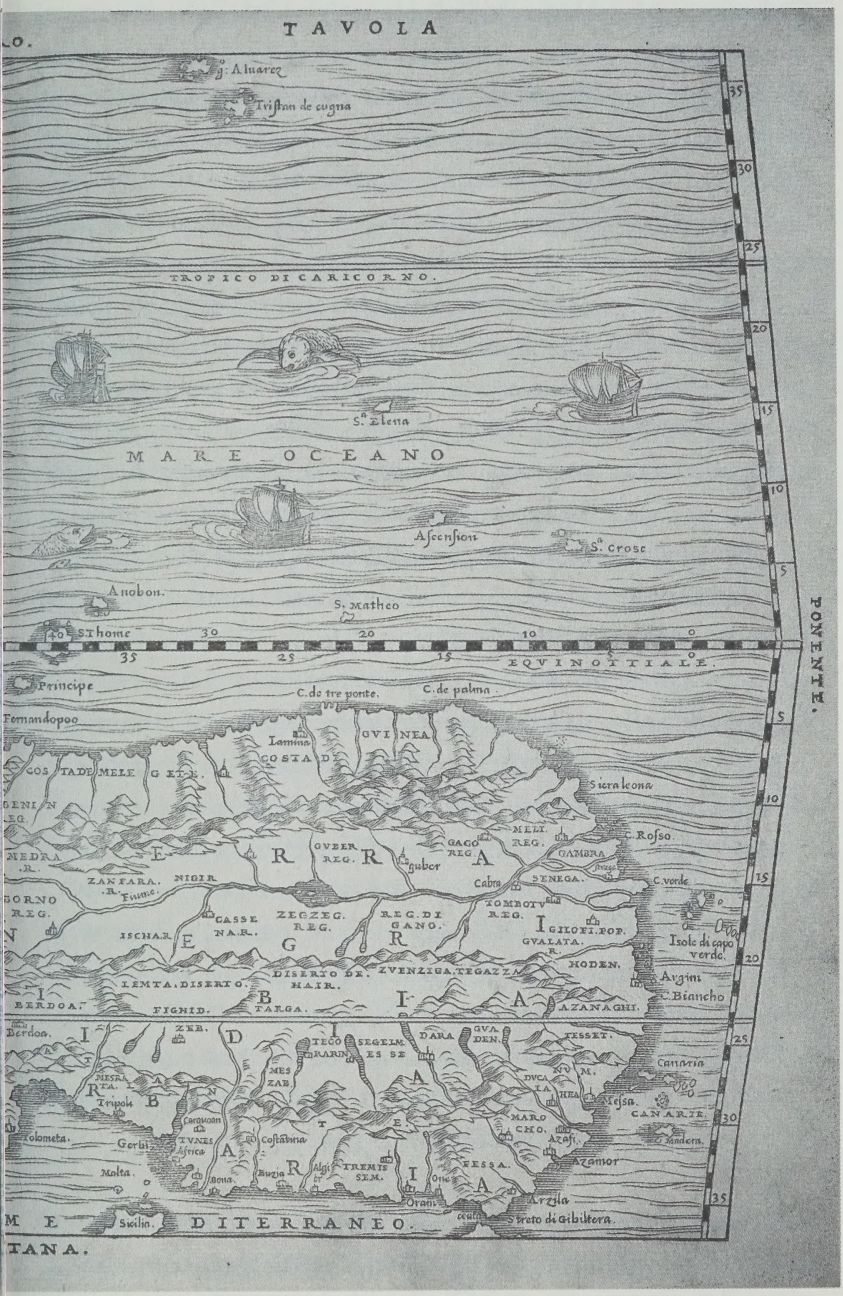
9 Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485-1557). *Delle navigationi et viaggi*. Venetia: Giunti, 1559-65. Volume 2.

10 *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*. London: T. Astley, 1745-1747.



RAMUSIO'S AFRICA

TAVOLA


g. Alvarez
Tristan de cugna
TROPICO DI CARICORNO.
S.t Elena
MARE OCEANO
Ascension
S.t Crose
Anobon.
S. matheo
S.thome
EQVINOTTIALE
Principe
C. de tre ponte.
C. de palma.
Fernandopoo
Lamma
GVINEA
COSTA D
Siera leona
C. Rosso
GVBER. REG.
GAGO REG.
MELI REG.
GAMBRA
Cabra
SENEGA.
C. verde
ZANFARA.
NIGIR
Fiumi
CASSE NAR.
ZEGZEG. REG.
REG. DI GANO.
TOMBOTV REG.
GIOGHI. POP.
GVALATA.
Isole di capo verde.
ISCHAR.
DISERTO DE ZVENZIGA. TEGAZZA
MODEN.
Argim
Biancho
TEMTA. DISERTO.
HAIR.
TALGA.
AZANAGHI.
BERDOA.
FIGHID.
Berdoa.
ZEB.
TEGDARIN
SEGELMES SE
DARA
GVADEN.
TESSET.
Canaria
MESRATA.
Tripoli
MES ZAB
DVCALA
Mejsa.
CANARIE
Caramoan
Affrica
Tolometa.
Gerbi
TVNES
costantina
MARMO CHO.
Arzil.
Madera.
Malta.
Bona.
Bugia
Algi
TREMIS SEM.
TESSA.
Azamor
Oran.
Arzila
Sicilia
DITERRANEO.
Streto di Gibiltera.
PONENTE.

TANA.

Cadamosto entered Henry's service in 1455, and the prince equipped him with a ship and crew, and the task of trading for spices, from which Henry would receive half the proceeds - though Henry would take the loss should there be no cargo and no profit. Castlereagh writes:

> Cadamosto set out on his first voyage for the prince on March 22, 1455. In three days he had reached Porto Santo, and in six, Madeira. Although he did not stay long at either, he had much to report about both. Porto Santo, he found, had by now been successfully colonized, and the settlers there were prospering by raising cattle and exporting quantities of honey and wax. In Madeira, there were now four settlements. Besides producing wine and sugar for export, they were growing wheat, cutting timber, manufacturing furniture, and raising cattle. Cadamosto then called in at Gomera and Ferro in the Canaries. Here he learned that, as in the neighboring islands of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, most of the natives had been converted to Christianity. But it was about the African coast that Cadamosto had the most to report. At Cape Blanc, he learned of the caravan route between the north coast of Africa and Timbuktu (a city in present-day Mali). Moslem traders from northern Africa traveled south along this route carrying articles of brass and silver which they traded at Timbuktu for gold, pepper, and slaves. Cadamosto discovered, however, that already the volume of trade along this overland route had been noticeably affected by the Portuguese sea trade. Coastal goods that had once been available only to overland merchants were now being bought by Portuguese traders and shipped to Lisbon. (1971: 62)

Cadamosto carried on to the Senegal River, and further along the coast, where he did some trading. He reached the Gambia River and, although he made no notable discoveries, he made a careful note of all he had seen. When he wrote an account of his travels, after he had returned to Venice in 1463 (the account was first published, posthu-

mously, in a collection of voyages including those of Columbus and Vespucci, compiled by one Fracanzano da Montalboddo and published at Milan in 1508), he recalled vividly his first sight of lions, elephants, and hippopotamuses, his first taste of ostrich eggs, and his first observation of the Southern Cross, a constellation only visible near or south of the equator. On a second voyage in 1456, with three caravels, he sailed west from Cape Verde (or in other accounts, was driven west by a storm for several days) until he came upon a group of uncharted and uninhabited islands, which he named the Cape Verde Islands, and claimed for Portugal. It is, however, doubtful that he was the original discoverer of the islands, which lie at around 16° N and 24° W. The islands were settled by the Portuguese and became important as watering stations and sites for sugar cane plantations, and later as a major centre of the slave trade. The Cape Verde Islands achieved independence in 1975. The Portuguese explorations were carried on by Bartolomeu Dias (1487), and Vasco Da Gama (1498-9), who landed at Calicut in 1498, thus discovering the ocean route to India. On his voyage Da Gama made a westward sweep (he was out of sight of land for ninety-six days) which took him nearer to Brazil than to Africa. The next Portuguese expedition, thirteen well-armed ships laden with trading goods, led by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, left Lisbon in March 1500. Cabral's fleet made an even wider western sweep than Da Gama's, with stunning results: the discovery of the Brazilian coast of South America. But Cabral was anxious to get on to India, which he did, with remarkable success in trade for spices, and porcelain, incense, aromatic woods, pearls, diamonds, and rubies. Portuguese forts were established in India in 1505.

11 Samuel Purchas (1577-1626). *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or, Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in all Ages, and Places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present.* London: Printed by W. Stansby for H. Fetherstone, 1613.

12 Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457-1526). *De rebus oceanis et novo orbe, decades tres*. Cologne: G. Calenius and the Heirs of Quentelius, 1574.

13 Christopher Columbus. *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus: with other Original Documents, Relating to his Four Voyages to the New World*. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1870.

Twenty years before the establishment of Portuguese bases in India, a committee of experts called by King John II of Portugal had dismissed the ideas of a young man who claimed to know a sea route to the Indies. The young man, Christopher Columbus, left Portugal for the recently united Spain of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile. For Columbus, the voyage west across the Atlantic to the Indies was not a voyage into the unknown. He was convinced that God had chosen him to perform great deeds, connected with the oceans. He had also worked out quite carefully how far west he would need to sail to reach Asia. By his calculations 'India' would be about 3900 miles, or 6275 kilometers, from the Canary Islands; that is, more or less where America happens to be. From his study of the apocryphal book *II Esdras*, Columbus had believed that six-sevenths of the world was made up of dry land, the seventh part of water. Carmichael writes:

> Like most well-read men of this time, Columbus accepted the fact that the earth is round, and it seemed quite logical to him that the combined landmasses of Europe, Africa, and Asia should occupy the requisite six-sevenths of the globe. If all the oceans together occupied the seventh, the Atlantic could not be so very large after all! Indeed, from his study of the writings of Ptolemy and Marco Polo, he had concluded that the land between West Africa and eastern Asia stretched eastward through more than 280° out of the total 360° comprising the earth's circumference. Thus, he reasoned, the distance west-

ward from West Africa to eastern Asia could be traversed by voyaging through less than 80° of longitude. (1971: 82-83)

Thus Columbus's discovery of the 'Indies' on his westward voyage in 1492 was the practical result of a cumulative series of geographic errors - in the length of a mile, the length of a degree, the length of the equator, the relationship between dry land and sea - which convinced Columbus that his landfall on Guanahaní, one of the Bahama Islands, on 12 October 1492 placed him among 'the islands which are set down in the maps at the end of the Orient.'

The literature on Columbus is enormous. Simonetta Conti's *Bibliografia colombiana 1793-1990* runs to almost a thousand large pages. Jack Shreve's synoptic 'Christopher Columbus, a Bibliographic Voyage' (1991) lists his selection of ninety-six titles. Shreve comments:

> We are so familiar with the story of Columbus that it hardly requires retelling. Born in Genoa but a wanderer most of his life, he had the gift of will that enabled him to pursue a dream that, although based upon error, produced important results entirely different from what he had imagined. The demands he made upon the Spanish Crown for himself and his heirs were great, and the monarchs soon rued their generosity to him even as they grew rich from his discoveries. After his second voyage he donned the habit of a Dominican friar and retreated deep into religious mysticism. Because of administrative difficulties after his third voyage to the New World, he was sent back to Spain in chains, and although the chains were quickly removed upon debarking, Columbus kept the chains with him as a symbol for the rest of his life, and the subject of the shackled admiral has served to fascinate artists ever since ... . Because the rival explorer Amerigo Vespucci was quicker than Columbus to recognize the discovery as a new hemisphere, it was his name instead that was affixed to the continent. (1991: 703-4)

By the time of Columbus's fourth voyage (1502-1504) 'a crowd of discoverers was sailing his seas, landing in his islands, and stealing his future discoveries,' as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* puts it, but to the end of his days Columbus believed that he had reached the Orient. One of his captains, the distinguished navigator and cartographer Juan de la Cosa (1460-1510), was not so sure. He was the owner and master of the *Santa Maria*, the flagship of Columbus's first voyage, and sailed with him again in 1493 and 1498. In 1499 de la Cosa was first pilot for the expedition of Alonso de Ojeda and Amerigo Vespucci, and was among the first to set foot on the South American continent. In 1500 he made a chart of the world, on a stretched ox-hide, which is the oldest representation of the New World. The scale of the Americas is exaggerated compared to the rest of the world, but the islands of the Caribbean are represented with some accuracy. The map is preserved in the Museo Naval in Madrid. De la Cosa sailed to the New World seven times in all. His last expedition carried colonists to be landed on the coast of Colombia near the present day Cartagena. The landing party was attacked by natives and de la Cosa was killed.

14 Amerigo Vespucci (1451-1512). *Vita e lettere di Amerigo Vespucci raccolte e illustrate dall'abate Angelo Maria Bandini.* Florence: Insegna di Apollo, 1745.

If Columbus was faulted, and punished, for his dictatorial behaviour, his insistence on great rewards and honours, and his belief in the God-given nature of his quest, then history has been more kind to Amerigo Vespucci, accused only of the venial sins of boasting and lying. The accuracy of the indictments makes little difference in Vespucci's case, because his breakthrough depended not so much on the voyages that he undertook, but rather on his deduction that the enormous expanses of coastline that he traversed could be nothing other than the shores of an unknown continent, a new world. They were not the Indies in which Columbus so determinedly believed, but the vast new found lands which came to be called America. The career of Vespucci in

DANTHES
FLORENTI
AIGERIUS
I MI VOLS'A MAN DESTRA E POSI MEZO
AL'ALTRO POLO E VIDI QUATTRO STELLE
NON VISTE MAI FUOR CH'A LA PRIMA GENTE
GODER PAREVA'L CIEL DI LOR FIAMMELLE
OSET'TENTRIONAL VEDOVO SITO
POICHE PRIVATO SE DI MIRAR QUELLE

Italy, Spain, and Portugal is well-documented, despite the doubts cast on his accounts of some of the supposed voyages.

Amerigo was born at Florence on 9 March 1451 into a respectable family with good links to the Medici. He received a humanistic education from an uncle, a Platonic philosopher who was a teacher for many of the Florentine nobility, and then went on to study geometry, physics, astronomy, and cosmography. After the death of his father around 1483 Amerigo entered the service of the junior branch of the

house of Medici. Towards the end of 1491 he joined, and through his diligence and intelligence, became one of the chief agents of a merchant-banking and ship-outfitting house established at Seville with close relations to the Medici. Vespucci, as an agent for the firm, provided supplies for Columbus's second voyage of exploration in 1493 and his third voyage in 1498. His relations with Columbus were said to be cordial, though his account of sailing with Columbus on the 1493 voyage is unsubstantiated. It is, however, generally accepted that Vespucci sailed from Cadiz with Alonso de Ojeda and Juan de la Cosa in 1499, exploring the coast of South America and returning to Spain in September 1500. It was on this voyage that Vespucci contracted the 'quartan ague,' probably malaria, which eventually killed him. Speake writes:

> Vespucci undertook his next voyage for Portugal and sailed from Lisbon in May 1501. Seven weeks later, off Cape Verde, he wrote again to Pier Francesco de' Medici, informing him of his departure from Portugal, and of his meeting, in Cape Verde, with sailors returning from another Portuguese voyage. They had formed part of an expedition under Pedro Alvarez Cabral, which had strayed off course on its way to India and landed on an unknown coast: northeast Brazil. Vespucci rightly surmised that it was the same land that he had reached on his previous expedition. From Cape Verde, he sailed to the Brazilian coast and went southward to Guanabara Bay. His was the first European expedition to sight the Plate River. It is likely that his ships explored more of the Argentine coastline further south, before returning northward for the long journey back to Lisbon, which they reached on 22 July 1502. The written accounts of that voyage were of huge historical significance, for the calculations and observations that Vespucci made convinced him that the land he had explored was not part of Asia after all, but a continent hitherto unknown to Europeans. Vespucci was the first to express that idea. In another letter to Medici, written

in 1502 upon his return to Lisbon, he gave detailed descriptions of the flora, fauna, and native inhabitants of the South American coast, but more importantly he wrote: 'we arrived at a new land which, for many reasons which are enumerated in what follows, we observed to be a continent.' (2003: 1245)

The name 'America' was coined by Martin Waldseemüller in his *Cosmographiae introductio* of 1507. Waldseemüller marked the name on his map, shown in reduced facsimile in the Reading Room, and by the time Mercator published his world atlas in the 1580s the name America was established.

HORMUZ IN THE PERSIAN GULF

15 Cities of the World: Europe, Africa, Asia. Wigston: Magna Books, 1990.

16 *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travel: Arranged in a Systematic Order, Forming a Complete History of the Origin and Progress of Navigation, Discovery and Commerce, by Sea and Land, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time by Robert Kerr.* Edinburgh: Printed by G. Ramsey for W. Blackwood, 1811-1824.

Ludovico de Varthema (or Lodovico Barthema, as Ramusio styles him) was an adventurer, and a rogue not above embroidering the already picaresque story of his travels with sexual innuendo. By the time he died he was one of the best-known travel writers in early modern Europe. According to his *Itinerario*, published in Italian in 1510, he spent the years from 1502 to 1508 in the Middle East, India, and Southeast Asia, travelling as far as Burma, Malaysia, Java, Sumatra, and Thailand. On his return voyage he took the recently established southern route round the Cape of Storms, later euphemistically renamed the Cape of Good Hope. Waldman and Wexler write:

> Although the Portuguese had perfected a sea route around Africa to India by the time of his visit, Varthema's travels marked the first time a European had reached the Far East by way of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea and then had returned to Europe in a sea voyage around Africa. Moreover, Varthema's travel account provided 16th-century European cartographers with a better idea of the geography of Asia. (1992: 629)

By 1523 his book had had at least five Italian editions, one in Latin, three in German, and two each in Castilian and French. Dutch and English translations followed later in the century. Varthema was also able to sell information to the Portuguese that was useful in their struggle against the Moslem merchants and the Hindu rulers of Calicut. After his return to Italy he also sold intelligence about India to the Venetian senate. His detailed knowledge of the areas that he knew best enlivened his descriptions. Joan-Pau Rubiés, writing in Speake's compilation, notes:

> Despite his lack of any serious intellectual concerns, Varthema was an effective ethnographer for those areas that he knew personally. Especially valuable is the description of the customs and religion of Calicut in South India. He knew some basic, colloquial Malayalam, and inquired about the local religion from the brahmins, although his account was simplistic (the locals worshipped 'the devil'). He also described eating habits, sexual customs, marriage arrangements, caste differences, dress codes, burial ceremonies, the administration of justice, religious worship, festivals, methods of fighting, groups of merchants, money lending, ships and navigation, the royal palace, medical practices, ten wonderful uses of the coconut, and a number of peculiar local products. (2003: 1236)

Varthema himself writes, in dedicating his book to a lady of the Colonna, that he

> determined to investigate some small portion of this our terrestrial globe; and not having any inclination (knowing myself to be of very slender understanding) to arrive at my desire by study or conjectures, I determined, personally, and with my own eyes, to endeavour to ascertain the situation of places, the qualities of peoples, the diversities of animals, the varieties of the fruit-bearing and odoriferous trees of Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Felix, Persia, India, and Ethiopia, remembering well that the testimony of one eye-witness is worth more than ten heard-says. (1863: 1-2)

Varthema insists upon the part that curiosity played in his travels. Varthema the literary figure travels 'to see the world.' His claims to authority are founded in his personal experience. Rubiés comments: 'This was a crucial principle for the development of Renaissance travel literature, and it is precisely this quality of Varthema's persona that is the key to the originality and success of the book.' (2003: 1235)

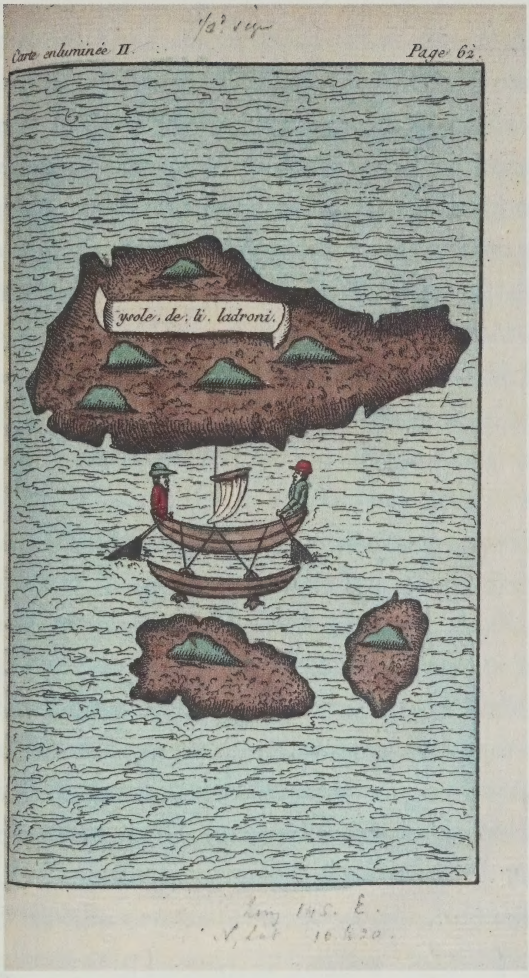
CASE THREE

MERCHANTS AND MISSIONARIES, CONQUISTADORS AND COLONIZERS

During the first few decades of the sixteenth century the trickle of ships crossing the Atlantic to the New World and rounding the Cape of Storms towards East Africa and the real Indies grew to a flood - and not all of the ships were from Portugal or Spain; the British became involved, as did the French and then the Dutch. The German and Italian kingdoms, principalities, and duchies were for the most part excluded from this rush for riches and for territory, but skillful sailors and traders sold their services to the great and the emerging maritime nations. Cadamosto, Columbus, Vespucci, and Giovanni Caboto were the forerunners, but as the new century got under way they were joined by many others: Fernando Colombo and Sebastiano Caboto, sons of the discoverers; Antonio Pigafetta, companion of Magellan; Giovanni da Verrazzano, along the coasts of North and Central America; Marco da Nizza (ca. 1495-1558) in Mexico and the American southwest; and Girolamo Benzoni, adventurer and would-be slaver - an ordinary man, not particularly clever, who came, like the Spaniard Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1566) to document and despise the destruction of the native Americans. Many of the chroniclers and cartographers, too, were Italian: Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Benedetto Bordone, and, as the century drew towards its close, Giovanni Botero, and Thomaso Porcacchi.

17 Antonio Pigafetta (ca. 1480/91-ca. 1534). *Premier voyage autour du monde.* Paris: H. J. Jansen, 1801.

18 Antonio Pigafetta. *Magellan's Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Navigation.* London: The Folio Society, 1975.



The mariners and explorers of the late fifteenth century knew that the world was round, but it was not until 6 September 1522 that a ship completed the circumnavigation. That ship was the *Victoria*, the lone survivor of the five Spanish ships commanded by Magellan which had set sail from Sanlúcar de Barrameda on 20 September 1519. The question of who was the first man to complete a circumnavigation of the globe is a pretty one. The name associated with the expedition is Ferdinand Magellan (Fernão de Magalhães, d. 1521), but he was killed in a skirmish with the native people of the Philippine island of Mactan on 27 April 1521 and did not complete the voyage. Only eighteen

men, including the Italian supernumerary and chronicler Pigafetta, and the surviving master Juan Sebastián de Elcano (ca. 1476-1526), returned to Spain, so perhaps they were the first. But Magellan himself had earlier in his career travelled to the East Indies and the Spice Islands, so he did almost complete an interrupted circumnavigation before he was killed. Perhaps the first true circumnavigator was Magellan's Malay interpreter, baptized as Enrique, who had remained with him since the voyage to Malacca and had therefore sailed around the world. Stefan Zweig writes:

> At Mazzava, a tiny islet of the Philippine group, so small that only with a lens can one find it on the map, Magellan had one of the most remarkable experiences of his life. ... As soon as, under press of sail, the three large foreign ships drew near the shore of Mazzava, the inhabitants, inquisitive and friendly, flocked to the strand. Before Magellan landed, he sent his slave Enrique ashore as emissary, rightly supposing that the indigenes would have more confidence in a brown-skinned man of their own kidney than in the bearded whites, strangely clad and fully armed. Now came the wonder. The islanders surrounded Enrique chattering and shouting, and the Malay slave was dumbfounded, for he understood much of what they were saying. He understood their questions. It was a good many years since he had been snatched from his home, a good many years since he had last heard a word of his native speech. What an amazing moment, one of the most remarkable in the history of mankind! For the first time since our planet had begun to spin upon its axis and to circle in its orbit, a living man, himself circling that planet, had got back to his homeland. (1938: 233-4)

The end of this part of the story is less than bright. Magellan had provided in his will that Enrique was to be freed upon his death, but the surviving shipmasters refused to free him. He escaped after four days, with the aid of a local Rajah, who also killed more than twenty

of the surviving crew - many more than had died in the skirmish that killed Magellan.

Pigafetta, who had originally joined the expedition as a volunteer supernumerary, had been making notes about the languages he encountered, and was able to understand and speak enough words of Malay and Bisayan to communicate for the crews as they navigated through the East Indies. Pigafetta, born in Vicenza, was later able to style himself a 'Venetian Knight of the Order of Jerusalem' since, after the voyage, he had been admitted to the Knights of Rhodes. Simply to have survived the voyage, he must have been clever, able, tough, and also lucky. R. A. Skelton writes:

> The longest and most valuable narrative of the voyage was written by a young Italian who was neither a professional seaman nor a humanist. Antonio Pigafetta, who, joining the expedition as a volunteer, was in *Trinidad* when she sailed in 1519 and in the *Victoria* when she berthed in 1522, brought to his task of recording a capacity for keen observation, sympathetic interpretation, and expressive communication of experience which enabled him to produce one of the most remarkable documents in the history of geographical and ethnological discovery. His *Relation* contains the testimony of an independent witness, disengaged from the processes by which other reports of the expedition were transmitted through Spanish or Portuguese official channels or through the minds and pens of literary men. Without Pigafetta's account, the knowledge of the peoples of the Pacific and their way of life won by the experience of the voyagers would, in large part, never have been conveyed to Europe. (1994: 5)

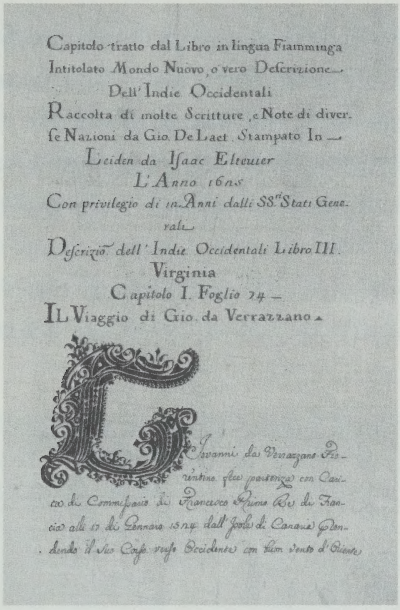
Skelton edited the facsimile edition of the French illuminated manuscript of Pigafetta's text, given to Yale University in 1964 by Edwin T. Beinecke, which he calls 'the most beautiful of all manuscripts of Pigafetta's *Relation*.' (1994: 27)

19 Richard Hakluyt. *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-Land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at any Time within the Compass of these 1500 Yeeres.* London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker, 1598-1600.

20 Dionysios Hatsopoulos and Richard Virr. 'The voyage of Giovanni da Verrazzano: a newly discovered manuscript,' in *Fontanus* 5, (1992) pp. 7-31.

In 1964 the Verrazano Narrows Bridge, linking Staten Island with Brooklyn, was opened by New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner. At that time it was the longest suspension bridge in the world. The naming of the bridge for Giovanni da Verrazano (or Verrazzano, 1485-1528) was controversial at the time. New York politicians had never heard of Verrazano, and it took a sustained effort from the Italian Historical Society of America to get the name accepted in a State bill of 1960. It is unlikely that the thousands who cross the bridge every day know anything about him. Verrazano was born near Florence and was educated there. When he was twenty or twenty-one he entered the French maritime service at Dieppe, and became famous as a corsair captain preying on the ships of Spain and Portugal. His voyage of discovery of 1524 was begun as part of an attempt to find a polar route to China, in the hope of supplying Lyon merchants with silk. His caravel *Dauphine* sailed west from Madeira and eventually made landfall on the Carolina coast (the duration of the voyage has variously been reported as forty-nine or twenty-five days). Coasting north, he reached the present site of New York City in April 1524. He surveyed the mouth of the Hudson River, and followed the Long Island and New England coast to Maine. Hatzopoulos and Virr write:

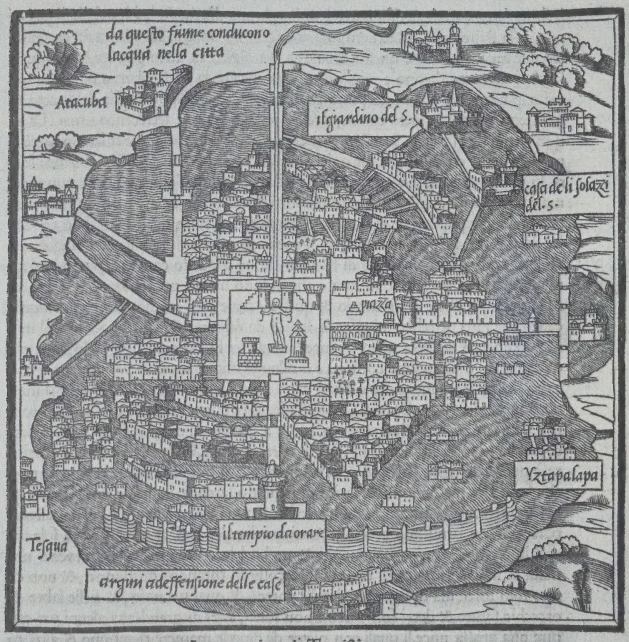
> The *Dauphine* sailed north along the Atlantic coast until it reached the Cape Breton-Newfoundland area. The coast and its


Capitolo tratto dal Libro in lingua Fiammenga
Intitolato Mondo Nuovo, o vero Descrizione
Dell' Indie Occidentali
Raccolta di molte Scritture, e Note di diver-
se Nazioni da Gio. De Laet. Stampato In
Leiden da Isaac Elzeuier
L'Anno 1625
Con privilegio di 12. Anni dalli SS.ti Stati Gene-
rali.
Descrizio. dell' Indie Occidentali Libro III.
Virginia
Capitolo I. Foglio 74.
IL Viaggio di Gio. da Verrazzano.
Giovanni da Verrazano Fio-
rentino fece partenza con Cin-
que da Commissario di Francesco Primo Re di Fran-
cia alli 17 di Gennaro 1524 dall'Isola di Canaria Pen-
dendo il suo Corso verso Occidente con Vento d'Oriente

inhabitants were observed and described by Verrazzano and his account was the first to do so, containing important ethnological information. Sailing near Newfoundland, known to Verrazzano as 'Bacalaia,' a name given by the Portuguese who fished in the area annually, the ship turned eastward and set sail for Normandy. (1992: 7)

Verrazano returned to Dieppe at the beginning of July, and wrote a brief report to King Francis I, probably in Italian, which was then translated into French. The report also went to his Italian backers, and five versions of the Italian text survive, one printed in part in Ramusio's compilation. Another copy of the manuscript was known to exist, bound into the Verrazano family's copy of Ramusio. It was this work that was donated to Montreal's McGill College Library in 1877 by Canadian industrialist Peter Redpath (1821-1894), a governor of the College and a benefactor of the Library. The manuscript includes the part of Verrazano's letter omitted by Ramusio, together with an extract translated from Joannes de Laet's Dutch work *Niewe wereldt, ofte, Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (1625). Hatzopoulos and

Virr suggest that the McGill manuscript should be dated between 1625 and 1633. (1992: 10) Verrazano seems to have completed a second voyage to Brazil, returning with a cargo of wood in 1527, but in 1528, on a third voyage, he was killed (and perhaps eaten) by natives on the Darien coast of the isthmus of Panama, while his brother Girolamo watched helplessly from the ship. Other accounts suggest that this happened on Guadeloupe. Or perhaps he was indeed captured by the Spanish and executed for piracy, as Spanish archival records attest.



La gran citta di Temistitan.

TERRA di sancta Croce ouer mondo nouo, fu la prima di tutte queste isole, che trouata fusse, & benche alcuni hebbeno ferma openione, che al nostro cõtinẽte cõgiunta fusse, nõdimeno al presente possono esser certi, esser grãdissima isola, percio, che da uno capitano del re de spagna, una & laltra parte è stata uedu-ta, cio è la costa, che uerso tramõtana è posta, & laltra, che allostro giace, alla q̃le per giorni sei passando mõti, ualle, & fiumi cõ lo exercito suo puenne. Hor dũque noi sciamo certi esser isola & nõ col nostro cõtinente contenuta, & il principio suo hauere uerso l'oriẽte, laquale ha forma di angulo, & uerso ostro & garbino in chlina, & laltra parte, che al settẽtrione siede, uerso ponente si stẽde miglia tre mi la, & doppo uerso tramõtana piega, & cõ terra del laboratore (sopradetta) fanno

21 Benedetto Bordone (d. 1539). *Libro di Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona de tutte l'isole del mondo con li lor nomi antichi & moderni, historie, favole, & modi del loro vivere, & in qual parte del mare stanno, & in qual parallelo & clima giacciono.* Venice: N. D'Aristotile, detto Zoppin, 1528.

22 Thomaso Porcacchi (ca. 1530-1585?). *L'isole piu famose del mondo.* Padua: P. & F. Galignani, 1620.

157

DESCRITTIONE
DELLA GRAN CITTA'
& Isola del Temistitan.

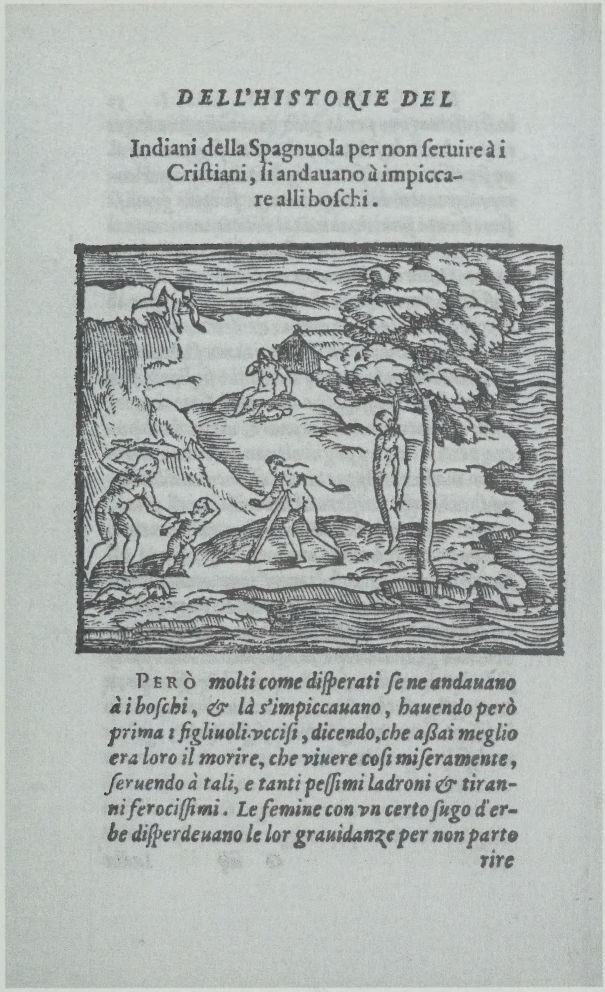
TEMISTITAN

LA Città, & Isola del Temistitan Messico, è nella prouincia del Messico nella nuoua Spagna, ò Mondo nuouo: & tanto vien commendata per bella, bene ornata, & ricca da tutti gli Scrittori, che non senza marauiglia vediamo vn'altra Venetia nel mondo, fondata da Dio benedetto: piamente parlando; con la sua santissima mano: doue l'altre son fondate da gli huomini. Di questa città, & Isola, hauendo io a parlare; ho pensato che sia molto a proposito descriuer prima la prouincia doue ella si troua, & poi parlar della Città quel tanto, che al mio ordine conuenga, & che è venuto á mia notitia. E' dunque la prouincia, doue questa città è posta in forma di vna valle, circondata intorno intorno da altissimi & asprissimi monti, con circuito & giro di sessanta leghe, che sono ducento ottanta miglia, benche Andrea Teuet dice, che quel piano circonda intorno a seicento miglia: ma tutta è in pianura, & solo fra Tramontana & Leuante è aperta. Nel rimanente è ser-

O rata

In the year that Verrazano died, Benedetto Bordone published his book of islands. The title translates as 'Benedetto Bordone's book, in which he discusses all of the islands of the world, with their ancient and modern names, their histories, fables, and ways of life, and where in the oceans they are situated, and in which parallel and climate they lie.' The *isolario* was a cartographic form introduced and developed in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was originally an illustrated guide to the Mediterranean, related to the portolans and portolan-atlases. Bordone's book extends coverage to the whole of the known world. R. A. Skelton, who introduced the 1966 facsimile edition, wrote that Bordone's book: '[gave] special prominence to the translatlantic discoveries; and it has with reason been called "the earliest complete work of its kind to have been produced by the printing-press in Italy or anywhere else." In a modest way, it foreshadowed the world atlases of the of the 16th century.' (1966: v). The islands and peninsulas are represented in 107 small woodcut maps, plans, or views, some borrowed from books such as the early sixteenth-century printed editions of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. But Skelton writes:

> By the middle of the century however the woodcut was, in Italy, giving way to copperplate engraving as a medium for map-printing. In 1572, only a few years after the last edition of Bordone's *Isolario*, an island-book with text by Tommaso Porchacchi and plates by Girolamo Porro came from the press with the title *L'Isole piu famose del Mondo*. This was a much more sophisticated production than Bordone's, with maps (no longer nautical in style) engraved with the elegance of design characteristic of Venetian work in this period. Porcacchi's work, frequently reprinted, was the first of a series of *isolarii* which issued from the engraving- and printing-shops of Venice. (1966: xi)



DELL'HISTORIE DEL

Indiani della Spagnuola per non ſeruire à i Criſtiani, ſi andauano à impiccare alli boſchi.

PERÒ *molti come diſperati ſe ne andauano à i boſchi, & là s'impiccauano, hauendo però prima i figliuoli vccisi, dicendo, che aßai meglio era loro il morire, che viuere coſi miſeramente, ſeruendo à tali, e tanti peſſimi ladroni & tiranni ferociſſimi. Le femine con vn certo ſugo d'erbe diſperdeuano le lor grauidanze per non partorire*

23 Girolamo Benzoni (b. 1519). *La historia de Mondo Nuovo.* Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1962.

Benzoni's *History of the New World*, first published in 1565 and issued in an expanded edition in 1572, was based on his own experiences in Central and South America between 1541 and 1556, supplemented with borrowings from other writers. Benzoni, who himself was not averse to engaging in the trade in American slaves for profit, came in time to understand that conditions had changed. Where the Spanish

had at first been able to take advantage of the apparent friendliness of the native Americans they had soon instituted a more aggressive and violent system of relations. Instead of simple profit, they wanted dominion, and used the excuse of religious concern to impose their will on the natives, or to exterminate them. Benzoni's arguments were not one-sided. He recognized the cruel treatment of European

captives by the natives, just as he witnessed the vicious reprisals of the Spanish, with their vastly superior arms and terrifying horses. He also understood the real concern of many of the priests and friars for both the physical and spiritual well-being of the natives. Nevertheless, the anti-Spanish tenor of his book was unmistakable, and the *Catholic Encyclopedia* of 1907 commented on the book's violent partiality and hostility, extreme statements, and sweeping accusations, though the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* of 2003 omits Benzoni completely. His book was very popular in the countries opposed to Spain, and translations into Latin, French, English (though extracts only), German, and Dutch were soon published.

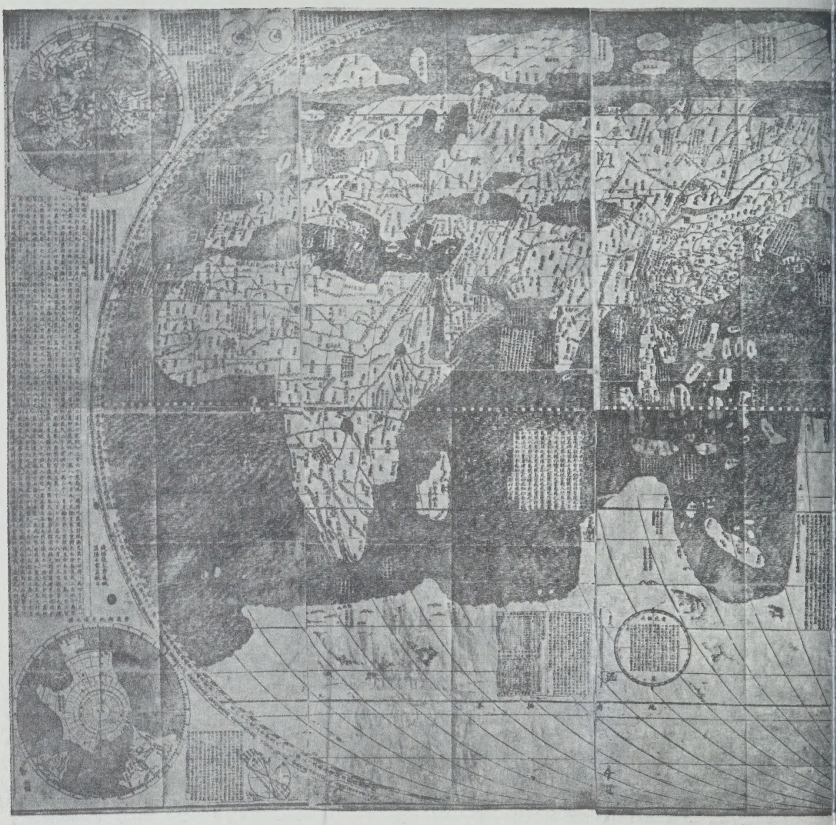
24 Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu.* Augsburg: Christoph. Mangium, 1615.

25 Matteo Ricci. *Il mappamondo cinese del p. Matteo Ricci*, S. I.. Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1938.

The Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci spent the last twenty-eight of the fifty-eight years of his life in China. He was a remarkable man, given an exceptionally difficult task. He was able to make his way, overcoming many difficulties, from Portuguese Macao where he had arrived in 1582 to Beijing, where he was finally able to establish a Christian mission in 1601. In 1607 he made contact with the Portuguese missionary and explorer Bento de Gois (1562-1607) who was in western China, and was able to confirm that the 'Cathay' of Marco Polo and the China of the Portuguese mariners were one and the same. In Macao, Ricci had begun to learn Chinese, both the spoken language and the ideographic script. His advantage was his extremely powerful and well-trained memory. His mastery of mnemonic techniques, such as the use of vivid imagery to prompt the recall of lengthy sequences of bits of information, helped him to memorize in a few months many thousands of ideographs, though it was twelve years before he felt

Tavola I

I SEI QUADRI DEL MAPPAMO
conservato presso



ready to communicate his methods to his Chinese pupils and acquaintances in their own language. Ricci's collected letters from China were eventually published in Italy in 1913, but when he wrote there was no guarantee that his writings would reach their destination. Jonathan Spence notes:

> The Jesuits in China knew enough of the sea's dangers to send each of their letters to Europe in two copies - one via Mexico on the Spanish galleons out of Manila, and one via Goa on the Portuguese carracks leaving Macao. Ricci's superior Valignano

may have been startled that one of his letters to Rome took seventeen years in transit from Macao, but Ricci accepted six to seven years as the norm for receiving an answer to a given letter. (1985: 66)

In 1596 Matteo was mistakenly informed that his father had died, and only learned in 1605 that he was in fact still alive. He then wrote, summarizing the main achievements of his career in China, but by the time this letter reached Macerata his father was indeed dead, and Matteo himself died before that news could have reached him in

Beijing. (Spence, 1985: 67) Among the books and documents that Ricci had been able to carry with him were his old teacher Clavius's *In Sphaeram Ioannis de Sacro Bosco commentarius* (1570) and Alessandro Piccolomini's *La sfera del mondo* (first published in Latin in 1540), together with Mercator's map of 1569 and Ortelius's map of 1570, so that, as Spence writes:

> Calculating eclipses, estimating latitudes, constructing integrated and adjustable sundials that would be accurate at any location, even making the large-scale map of the world that brought him such fame in China, were not so immensely difficult. (1985: 148)

Ricci made his first map of the world, with legend and annotations in Chinese, in 1584. It was soon copied, and reproduced from woodblocks. Ricci continued to work sporadically on a more accurate version until 1602, when he printed his new version (shown here in facsimile). It will be seen that, unlike the models provided for him by Ortelius and Mercator, China is properly placed at the centre of the world, and Ricci included useful explanatory paragraphs in Chinese characters. A translation of his text for Europe would run:

> This continent of Europe contains more than thirty kingdoms, all of which follow the administration of the ancient kings. Superstitions are not allowed there, but all adhere solely to the Holy Religion of the Lord of Heaven, the Supreme Emperor. There are three classes of people established in authority: the highest concern themselves with religion, then come those who pass judgment on worldly affairs, and lastly those who devote themselves exclusively to things military. The region produces the five cereal grains, the five metals [that is, gold, silver, copper, tin, and iron], and every kind of fruit. Wine is made from the juice of grapes. All their works are excellent. Astronomy and philosophy are studied. In the practice of life much is made of the five relationships [that is, in Confucian terms, between ruler

and subjects, father and son, among brothers, between spouses, and among friends]. There are goods in great abundance. The princes and the people are powerful and rich. They maintain relations with foreign countries all through the year, and travellers and merchants visit all the countries of the world. China [*Il Regno del Mezzo*, the Middle Kingdom] which is at a distance of 80,000 li [about 26,500 miles], and which has never had relations [with Europe] has begun to have such in the last seventy years or so. (Ricci, 1938: tavola XXIV)

One of Ricci's early Jesuit colleagues in China was Michele Ruggieri (1542-1607) from the Kingdom of Naples. He was in fact the first Jesuit in China, though he soon ceded direction of the China mission to the more capable and diplomatic Ricci. Ruggieri, whose Chinese was less than adequate and who had had some problems with the administration, was sent back to Europe in 1588, and remained in Italy until his death. He does not seem to have had contacts with European scholars, though many of them were extremely curious about China. While in China Ruggieri had written and had translated into Chinese a catechism which took into account Chinese concepts of law. This was published in China in 1584, and was quickly reprinted. He also wrote, in collaboration with Ricci, a Portuguese-Chinese dictionary. But he also brought back with him from China a set of drawings preparatory to an atlas of the fifteen provinces of the Middle Kingdom in the Ming era. Ruggieri worked on his atlas during the last two decades of his life in Italy, and it constitutes the first complete description of China produced in Europe. The manuscript, conserved in the Library of the Archivio di Stato di Roma, was published in an edited facsimile edition in 1993. The cartographic work of Ruggieri, Ricci, and other Jesuit missionaries leads towards the *Novus Atlas Sinensis* of another Jesuit missionary, Martino Martini (1614-1661), which was published in Amsterdam in 1655 in Latin and Dutch, and in 1658 in Spanish (and which is shown in facsimile in Case 4). Ricci, whom the Chinese knew as Li Ma-tou, a phonetic approximation of his name (and who

was also given the name Hsi-L'ai: far or exalted Westerner), published several books in Chinese, including a version of part of Euclid's *Elements* (1607), a book on friendship, a treatise on the mnemonic arts, and works on Christian theology. His life must have been at times very uncomfortable, from the disgusting shipboard conditions on the voyage out to the attacks on his missions by some Chinese, but his influence in China was considerable. He is still remembered, and several of his Chinese books have been reprinted recently in China and Taiwan. If nothing else, his revelation of the enormous distance separating China from Europe gave the Chinese leaders confidence to open the country more to foreign visitors, and reduced their fear of territorial encroachment.

CASE FOUR

PILGRIM, MISSIONARY, MERCENARY, TOURIST

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the major European powers were set upon extending their influence and control over the New World, Africa, and Asia. The Portuguese, with the advantage of a few years head start, were established in the Indies and in Brazil, with way stations on the Atlantic islands and the African coast, and a substantial cod fishery on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. The Spanish, given the advantage of the Pope's line of demarcation (set, by the Treaty of Tordesillos in 1494, at 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, with lands discovered to the west of the line to belong to Spain), controlled much of Central and South America, and were expanding into the eastern limits of Southeast Asia. France and Britain were dividing up North America, moving into Africa, and eying the Indian subcontinent and continental Southeast Asia. The Dutch were trading forcefully, and became established to some extent in the West Indies, but to greater effect in the Indonesian islands. Germany and Italy were still more than two centuries from becoming nations, and the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire were heavily engaged in skirmishes, advancing and retreating through central and southeastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean. Some Italian cities, foremost among them Venice, pursued their own commercial interests, but restricted their efforts at foreign control to within the Mediterranean perimeter. Our Italian travellers of the seventeenth century - two Romans, a Venetian, a Trentino, and a Neapolitan - shared a gift for observation and accurate description combined with an ability to set down their observations in a way that made their writings quite popular in their time.

PIETRO DELLA VALLE IL PELLEGRINO
Je cours toute la terre
Et parmy tant de lieux
Je trouue Mon payes
ou je ne Croix ie mieux.
TROISIESME PARTIE
DES FAMEVX
VOYAGES
DE
PIETRO
DELLA VALLE
GENTIL-HOMME ROMAIN,
SVRNOMME'
L'ILLVSTRE VOYAGEVR.
CONTENANT LA MAGNIFICENCE DV ROY DE PERSE
par son Entrée, & par la Reception des Ambassadeurs dans la ville Capitale,
& par les riches presens qu'il y receut; la source des differends qui est entre
les Turcs & les Perses, plusieurs Ceremonies des Chrestiens Orientaux, diuerses
obseruations fort curieuses touchant l'Astronomie & l'Astrologie, les veritables
verroni quelle a esté l'ancienne Persepolis, Superbe & Magnifique:
ENSEMBLE LES OBSERVATIONS QVE L'AVTHEVR
fait des beautez de la Nature, des Maximes de la Morale, & de la Politique, des
disgraces de la Royne des Georgiens, les Ceremonies que les Perses obseruent à la sepulture
de leurs Parens, les superstitions des Indiens pour le culte de leurs Idoles, la Malignité
des Sauriens & Sauriares, par la vertu de leurs Charmes, les Auantures d'vn Gentil-
homme Escossois, & La Perfidie des Infidelles enuers les Chrestiens.
A PARIS,
Chez GERVAIS CLOVZIER, au Palais sur les degrez en montant pour aller
à la Sainte Chappelle à la seconde Boutique, à l'Enseigne du Voyageur.
M. DC. LXIV.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

26 Pietro Della Valle (1568-1642). *Les fameux voyages de Pietro della Valle.* Paris: G. Clouzier, 1662-65.

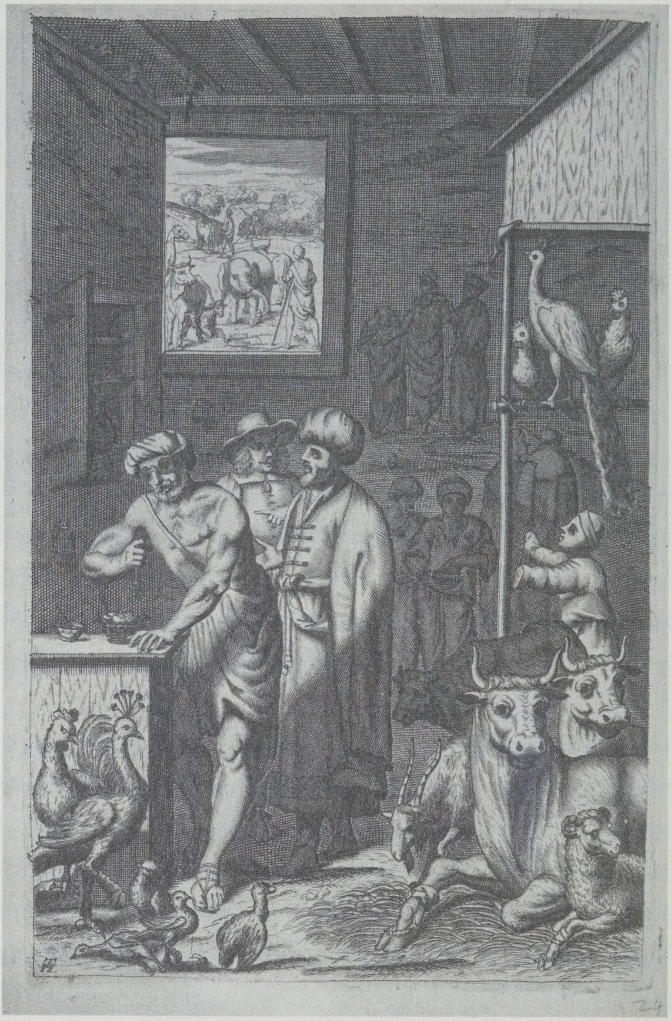
27 Pietro Della Valle. *Reiss-Beschreibung in unterschiedliche Thiele der Welt, nemlich in Türcken, Egypten, Palestina, Persien, Ost-Indien, und andere weit entlegene Landschafften.* Geneva: J.-H. Widerholds, 1674.

Pietro della Valle was born into a wealthy and distinguished Roman family, received a good education, and was admitted to a new Roman scientific and literary society, the Academy of the *Umoristi.* Little is known about his early life. He was already in his mid-twenties when he entered military service, and in 1611 participated in a Spanish expedition against Barbary pirates, though he regarded the engagements in which he took part 'rather as skirmishes than fights.' Edward Grey, who edited Della Valle's letters from India for the Hakluyt Society, notes: 'Subsequently, owing to a disappointment in a love affair, he went to Naples, and assumed the habit of a pilgrim and the title of "Pellegrino", which he ever afterwards added to his signature.' (1892: ii) His friend in Naples Mario Schipano, a professor of medicine,

advised him to travel to the East, and on 8 June 1614 he sailed from Venice for Constantinople, having vowed to see the Holy Land. And see the Holy Land he did - as well as Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, and Baghdad. He spent four years in Persia, then moved on and spent two years in India, based at Surat and Goa. In 1625 he started out on his return journey by way of Muscat, Basra, Aleppo, Cyprus, and Naples. He arrived at Rome on 28 March 1626, after a 'pilgrimage' of almost twelve years. All this time he had been recording his experiences and sending long letters back to his friend Schipano. Remarkably, only one of his fifty-four letters went missing. In all, Della Valle's letters ran to over a million words and, as his biographer Wilfrid Blunt points out, he 'never used one adjective where he could use two; never resisted a temptation to digress. If he tells us that it was hot, he feels almost bound to add that it was not cold. In fact, he poured out his thoughts just as they came into his head.' (1953: 3) His most recent British translator, George Bull, writes:

> Della Valle is sometimes pompous and sometimes unduly verbose, but most of what he writes is fresh, perceptive and entertaining. In choosing passages to translate I have tried to retain a narrative flow; to give a geographical balance; to illustrate the diffuse range of his intellectual and emotional interests; and, in an English version, to persuade the reader of his rich and flexible prose that he is a witty, versatile, effective and sometimes brilliant stylist. (1989: xvii)

Verbosity was not regarded as a great sin in seventeenth-century writing, though few of Pietro's letters, except those from Turkey, were published in his lifetime. Though the entire text is some ten times the length of the average modern novel it was published in Italian between 1650 and 1663, then translated into French (1662-1665), Dutch (1664-1665), and German (1674). An English translation of the portion of the book dealing with India and the return journey appeared in 1664. The Fisher Library holds examples of the English, French, and German



editions, together with a later Italian edition of 1677. The Dutch edition was illustrated with many full-page engravings, which were copied for the German edition, and reproduced in various modern editions. The example shown here depicts a famous hospital for birds in Cambay (Khambai, Gujurat, India). Della Valle writes:

> The house containing this hospital is small, since little room is enough for many birds. Yet I saw it full of winged creatures of all sorts in need of tending, such as cocks, hens, peacocks, ducks

> and small birds and suchlike which, while they remain lame or sick or mateless, are looked after here but, when they are recovered and are in good condition again, go free if they are wild, and, if they are domestic, are given to some pious person to keep at home. (1989: 222)

Though Della Valle was able to rely for his expenses on cash or letters of credit sent by his agents, and had with him for part of his journey two Italian servants, a Flemish painter, and an Augustinian friar, his travels were not without hardships and danger for him and for his companions. He persevered through local wars and political turbulence. But his broken heart (or wounded vanity) had been healed by prayers to Saint Catherine at the Holy Sepulchre, and in 1616 Pietro fell in love with and married a beautiful young Syrian Christian called Maani. She travelled and lived with him for the next five years, but miscarried and died near Shiraz, Persia. Pietro determined to bring her body back for a Christian burial in Italy, so Maani was embalmed as well as could be managed, and travelled with him for the remaining four years of his journey, sometimes of necessity hidden covered with clothes in the bottom of a large leather trunk. His wife had befriended a Georgian orphan Maria Tinatin (Mariuccia) who became his ward and accompanied him into India and eventually back to Italy, where she became his second wife, and bore him many sons. Della Valle lived the rest of his life in Rome, where he had friends, and was appointed honorary chamberlain to Pope Urban VIII. It seems that he still had a hot head, for he was forced to leave Rome for a time after killing, in the presence of the Pope, a papal servant who had disarmed one of his Indian servants. His sons did not amount to much, and Grey (1892: v) reports that after Pietro's death they were compelled to leave Rome, because of their turbulent conduct, and reside with their mother, at Urbino.

28 Francesco Giuseppe Bressani (1612-1672). *Breve relatione d'alcune missioni de' PP. della Compagnia di Giesù nella Nuova Francia.* Macerata: Heirs of A. Grisei, 1653.

29 Francesco Giuseppe Bressani. *Relation abrégée de quelques missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus dans la Nouvelle-France.* Montreal: Des presses à vapeur de J. Lovell, 1852.

Francesco Giuseppe Bressani was a very different kind of pilgrim from Della Valle. His fellow Roman was wealthy and able to travel in patrician style, still expressing the old medieval motives of piety and pilgrimage (Della Valle, 1989: ix). Bressani, the Jesuit professor of mathematics, philosophy, and literature, who began his travels in 1642 at the age of twenty-eight - the same age at which Della Valle had set off from Naples - had a hard career among the warring Hurons and Iroquois on the eastern edge of Lake Huron's Georgian Bay. The

Iroquois harboured great resentment against the Jesuits, the French, and the Hurons, that went back to Samuel de Champlain's military alliance with the Hurons in 1609. Bressani was captured by the Iroquois near the present-day Sorel, Quebec on the south shore of the St. Lawrence in April 1644, long before he was able to head west up river to the Jesuit Georgian Bay mission. Like many other Jesuits in Canada at that time, Bressani was tortured by the Iroquois. He was eventually ransomed to Dutch fur traders at Fort Orange and returned to France, by way of New Amsterdam (New York), in November 1644. By July of the following year, however, Bressani was back in New France. This time he travelled westward successfully to the Lake Huron region and began his missionary work. In 1648 full-scale war broke out between the Hurons and the Iroquois, and Bressani was again wounded on the way back to Quebec. He continued to minister to the now scattered Hurons, but his health was poor, and at the end of 1650 Bressani went back to Italy, where he lived in Florence until his death in 1672. It is reported that his later preaching in Italy gained popularity because of his mutilated hands. Soon after his return, Bressani set down on paper his account of his years as a missionary. His *Breve relatione* was published in Macerata in 1653; it was eventually translated into French and published in Montreal in 1852. Bressani writes about his own experiences, which were, to say the least, unpleasant, but he also writes about some of the many Jesuit martyrs of New France, among them Brebeuf and Lallemant, whose tortures are depicted in excruciating detail in the engravings of the Montreal edition, but also as part of the map of New France attributed to Bressani which was published in 1657 (a facsimile copy of which is hung in the Reading Room).

30 Niccolò Manucci (1639-1717). *Histoire generale de l'empire du Mogol depuis sa fondation jusqu'à present. Sur les mémoires portugais de M. Manouchi, vénitien, par le P. François Catrou.* À Paris: Jean de Nully, 1705-1715.

31 Niccolò Manucci. *Usi e costumi dell'India dalla 'Storia del Mogol' di Nicolò Manucci veneziano* Milan: Dalmine, 1964.

The holy man Bressani is followed by one who was much more a man of the world. Niccolò (or Niccolao) Manucci lived to the ripe old age of seventy-eight, and spent some sixty of those years in India. From his own account, he was born in Venice, and ran away from home at the age of fourteen. He was taken on as a servant by a certain Viscount Bellemont, and travelled with him from Smyrna to Surat, on the Indian coast about a hundred miles north of Bombay. From there they set off across India to Agra in west Uttar Pradesh, and from there north towards Delhi, where the Mogul Court had taken up residence. Bellemont died on the journey, and Manucci, still little more than a boy, was without a master. It was at this point that Manucci's varied Indian career began. Over the years he served in various armies as an artilleryman, practised as a quack doctor, returned to the profession of arms, back to medicine, then on to diplomacy as a representative of Portugal (falling into danger when recognized as a deserter from the army of Shah Alam, with whom he was negotiating). In 1686, relatively safe in Madras, he became a political correspondent for the English governor Gyfford, and was eventually granted land and a house in the city, where he died in 1717. Edward Farley Oaten, in his *European Travellers in India* (1909) devotes a chapter to Manucci, and comments:

> Such a chequered and adventurous career must be almost unique in the annals of Indian travel, home of romance though that country was in the seventeenth century. Probably few Europeans, if any, who have ever found a career in India, have played so many parts as he. The extraordinary length of his career adds to its interest. Manucci fought in the battle that made Aurangzeb master of the Mogul Empire, and, in spite of that monarch's long reign of fifty years, outlived four of his successors. But there was one rôle more that this man of many rôles desired to play. Not content with having been captain of

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> artillery to a Mogul prince, physician in ordinary to a provincial governor, plenipotentiary to a Portuguese viceroy, retired country gentleman at Salsette, and foreign correspondent to a British Governor at Madras, he aspired to become a man of letters. The fruit of this aspiration was his *Storia do Mogor*, which, combined with the romance of his life, makes him the most interesting, if not the most remarkable, figure of all the interesting and remarkable figures who appear in these pages. This work is one of the most extraordinary documents bearing on Indian history that we possess. (1909: 220-221)

Manucci's story was written down by a number of amanuenses in Italian, French, and Portuguese. He sent the first three parts of his manuscript to France in 1702, through an official of the French East India Company. The Jesuit François Catrou used it as the main source for his history of the Moguls in India, published in 1705 (and shown here). Catrou also gained access to the later parts of Manucci's manuscript, and in 1715 published a history of Aurangzeb (1618-1707), Mogul emperor of India, who was intensely devoted to Islam, destroyed Hindu temples, and mortally offended the Sikhs. Manucci's manuscript was then neglected for almost two hundred years, and finally came to light in Berlin. This is the text which was translated and edited by William Irvine, and published in four volumes in 1907. The manuscripts of Manucci's work held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice are accompanied by a volume of seventy-eight miniatures illustrating the text. Another set of fifty-six miniatures, mostly portraits of the Mogul emperors, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The Mogul miniatures, in Indo-Persian style, are quite distinct from the indigenous Indian style predominating in the Marciana group, an example of which is shown here.

32 Martino Martini (1614-1661). *Novus Atlas Sinensis: tavole.* Trent: Centro studi Martino Martini, Università degli studi di Trento, 2003.

33 Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri (1651-1725). *Giro del mondo del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri.* In questa seconda Edizione di molto accresciuto, e ricorretto, e di nuove figure adornato. Naples: Giuseppe Roselli, 1708.

Martino Martini, Jesuit missionary to China, historian, and cartographer was born in Trent (at that time under Austrian control) in 1614. His education included the study of mathematics at the Roman College under Athanasius Kircher (1601?-1680). He set out for China in 1640 and was able to enter the country in 1643. He came to China in interesting times. The Ming dynasty, which had its beginning in 1368, had been in decline in the north since the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Mongols had regained their strength. By 1610 the Ming dynasty had lost effective control over northeast China. Work on the Great Wall became more important than military expeditions against the Mongols from the last third of the sixteenth century, and in 1636 the Manchu ruler proclaimed the Imperial Qing Dynasty at Shenyang, Manchuria (now Mukden). Korea fell in 1637, and Beijing in 1644, though the southern Ming survived until 1662, a year after Martini's death in Hangtscheu (Hangchow, once visited by Marco Polo). His important works were completed and published between 1653 and 1658, while he was temporarily back in Europe. First came *De bello tartarico historia* (his history of the war), published in Antwerp in Latin in 1645, and immediately translated into Dutch, English, French, German, and Italian. Martini himself, of course, had lived through the devastating events which brought about the overthrow of the Ming, and his book was of topical interest throughout Europe. Next came his master work as the leading geographer of the Chinese mission, the *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, published in Amsterdam in Latin and Dutch in 1655, and in Spanish in 1658. He also published an account of the Christian presence in China (1655) and the first part of a planned history of China (1658). Martini also wrote theological works and apologetics in Chinese. The *Novus Atlas Sinensis* is his most important

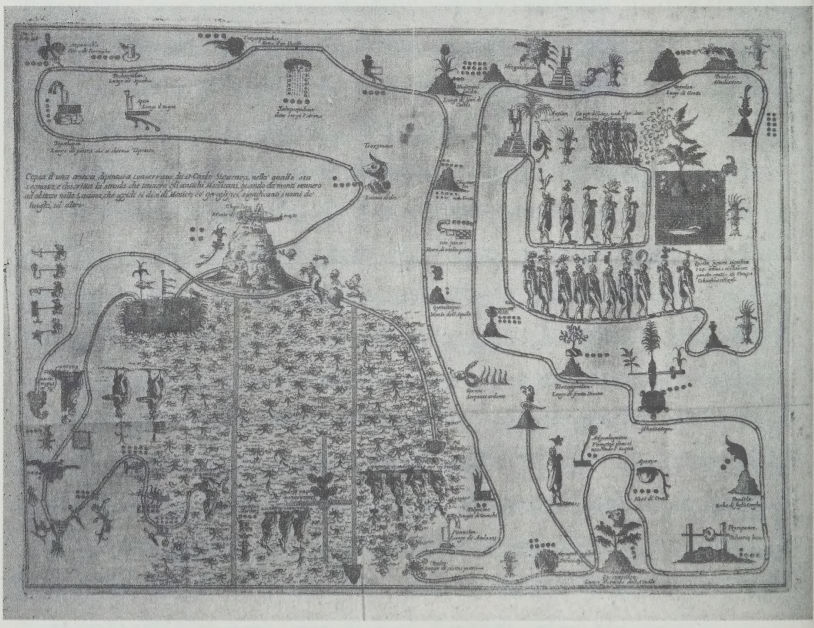
work, with its seventeen exquisite maps and almost two hundred pages of text. It was said that there was no other missionary, either before or after, who made such diligent use of his time in acquiring information about the country.

If Della Valle was a pilgrim whose journey mutated into a Grand Tour, Bressani a tortured missionary, Manucci a moderately successful and long-lived adventurer, and Martini a skilled geographer, then Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri was an intrepid tourist. He was a tourist in that he made use of available means of transportation on his journey, intrepid in that his travels occupied five-and-half years and took him eastward entirely around the world by way of Turkey, Persia, India, China, the Philippines, and Mexico. Gemelli Careri was a lawyer who grew tired of working for the Hapsburg rulers of Naples. He had at first set out to tour Europe, but lost patience with the 'unjust persecutions and undeserved outrages put upon him,' and left Europe to travel throughout the wider world. In India, in 1695, he visited the huge camp of the army of Manucci's old nemesis Aurangzeb who, to all appearances, was a victorious conqueror of most of South India, but the observant Careri could sense the beginnings of a tide of demoralization. Oaten comments:

> The army, consisting, as the traveller tells us, of 100,000 foot, 60,000 horse, 50,000 camels, and 3,000 elephants, was far too unwieldy to operate in broken, uneven soil against guerrilla warriors. The camp of Galgala was thirty miles in circumference, and enclosed a huge population amounting to a million. The tents of the emperor and his sons occupied a space of not less than three miles round. Luxury and effeminacy were rampant among all alike. Discipline, as well among the European mercenaries as among the Mohammedans, was nonexistent. ... Corruption was everywhere doing its deadly work among the higher officials. ... The huge army ate up all the provisions for miles around, and if ever its communications

with Northern India were intercepted, as was often done by the daring Mahratta skirmishers, it was in the utmost danger of starvation. (1909: 234-235)

Careri moved on to Goa, then to Macao, and eventually entered Beijing on horseback in November 1695. After almost one year in China, he made his way back to Canton, and Macao, sailing for the Philippines in April 1696. He spent a great deal of time in Manilla, noting the wealth and variety of the place, then in 1697 he took passage on a galleon for New Spain (that is, Mexico). The last volume of his account of his travels, first published in 1699-1700, is notable for its detailed descriptions of Mexico, and for the fact that it contains the first publication of the famous map of the 'Migrations of the Aztecs.' Both Clavigero and von Humboldt made use of this volume in their own works, and Awnsham Churchill included a translation in his collection of voyages first published in 1704.



CASE FIVE

EXPLORING AND RESEARCHING THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW

The eighteenth century was an important time for exploration and for scientific expeditions, particularly in those blank or ill-defined regions on the maps of the seventeenth century and earlier. These were the far southern latitudes in general and the South Pacific; the west coast of North America and the interior of the continent; the interior of Africa; and the great inaccessible highlands and deserts north and northeast of the Indian subcontinent - the unknown lands, the blank areas, the guessed-at islands and interiors displayed, for example, in John Speed's *New and Accurat Map of the World* of 1626. Everybody will remember the names of the great explorers and travellers of the era - James Cook (1728-1779), George Vancouver (1757-1798), William Dampier (ca. 1652-1715), Alexander Mackenzie (1764-1820), Daniel Boone (1734-1820), Alexander von Humboldt (1763-1859). Other names are familiar, though perhaps we are not quite sure of where they went and what they achieved - Bougainville, Bering, La Condamine, Pribylov, de Cadillac, Mungo Park. Yet others are difficult to place - Bass, La Perouse, Juan Perez, Arthur Phillip. It is likely we would have to put our eighteenth-century Italian travellers in this last category, for few of us will know much about Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733), Matteo Ripa (1682-1745), Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766), Filippo Mazzei (1730-1816), and Alessandro Malaspina (1754-1810), though one explored Tibet, one recorded the life of the Chinese court in his memoirs, and another in his art, one wrote an early history of the beginnings of the United States, and one led a highly successful scientific and political expedition to the Americas and the Pacific. Their achievements and their writings deserve more than the few lines they will receive here.

34 Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733). *An Account of Tibet: the Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S.J., 1712-1727.* London: George Routledge & Sons, 1937.

35 *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels: consisting of the most Esteemed Relations which have been hitherto Published in Any Language; comprehending every thing Remarkable in its Kind in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.* London: T. Astley, 1745-1747.

Ippolito Desideri, born in Pistoia in northern Tuscany, began to study with the Jesuits at the age of sixteen. Little is known about his early life and education; Jesuit records merely note the dates of his birth, his profession, his ordination, his departure from and his return to Rome, and his death. His extended account of Tibet was discovered in manuscript only in 1875, and did not appear in print until 1904. It begins with his departure from Rome in September 1712, having received permission from the General of the Jesuits and Pope Clement XI to open missions in Tibet. His journey took him to Lahore in the Punjab, then Srinagar in Kashmir, where he wintered, then over a pass at the height of 12,000 feet to Leh in the kingdom of Ladakh. He reports that the mountain journey to Leh was very hard, with the missionaries blinded by snow and often terrified by the sound of nearby avalanches. They then headed southeast into Nepal where he and his companion Emanuel Freyre joined a caravan bound for Lhasa, which city they reached in March 1716. Desideri was able to stay in Tibet for five years, studying the language and eventually writing volumes of Christian literature in Tibetan. His stay was imperiled by the Tartar invasion of 1717 and the annexation of Tibet by China. Then in 1718 it was decided in Rome that Tibet lay within the missionary province of the Capuchins, and the Jesuit General was ordered to recall his men. Desideri received this news in 1721, and was back in Katmandu by the end of 1722. After three years in Agra

he returned to Europe by way of the Ganges and Madras, arriving back in Rome in 1728. Desideri was the last Christian missionary to be permitted to preach in Tibet until the beginning of the twentieth century, and the route he followed to Lhasa with Freyre would not be travelled again by Europeans until the Younghusband military expedition of 1904. While his account of his travels, the *Relazione*, languished in manuscript, a number of Desideri's letters were published in 1728, including his letter from Lhasa, dated 10 April 1716, to Father Ildebrando Grassi, which was translated and published in Astley's *Collection of Voyages* of 1747, and represents the only document from his travels available before 1904. Sir Henry Yule, in his *Cathay and the Way thither* (1866) was forced to rely on the doubtful account of Odorico da Pordenone (see Case 1). Filippo de Filippi, whom we shall meet again in the context of his books on the expeditions of the Duke of the Abruzzi, writes, in his preface to the English edition of Desideri's book:

> Above all, in Desideri we have the first accurate general description of Tibet, in all its particulars - the flora, fauna, products of the soil, the inhabitants and their special customs, the constitution of the family, the nuptial and funerary rites, the social organization, and finally a complete exposition of Lamaism derived from his study of the canonical books and their commentaries and from a daily and familiar intercourse, stretching over many years, with the doctors of Lamaism and the life of the Lamaseries, made possible by his perfect knowledge of the Tibetan language. To him we are indebted for the only complete reconstruction that we possess of the Tibetan religion, founded entirely on the canonical texts. He sets in evidence its scholastic character and its complicated dialectic, admirably discerning its ethical-philosophical content from the congeries of Tantric superstitions and Sivaitic mixtures which fill so large a place in the monumental books of the Tibetan doctrines. And all this more than a century before the men of learning in

> Europe had any knowledge at all of the Tibetan language! (1937: 36)

De Filippi was of the opinion that the scientific value of the *Relazione* was of the first importance, unaffected by the studies which had since appeared. 'Not one of them' he wrote 'has led to conclusions contradictory to Desideri's.' (1937: 37)

36 Matteo Ripa (1682-1746). *Memoirs of Father Ripa during Thirteen Years' Residence at the Court of Peking in the Service of the Emperor of China: with an Account of the Foundation of the College for the Education of Young Chinese at Naples*. New York: John Wiley, 1849.

37 Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766). *Giuseppe Castiglione, dit Lang Shining*. Lausanne: Favre; Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2004.

At the beginning of his memoir, Father Ripa writes:

> In the year 1700, as I was strolling one day about the streets of Naples in search of amusement, I came to the open space before the Viceregal Palace just at the moment when a Franciscan friar, mounted on a bench, began to address the people. I was only eighteen; but though so young, I was then leading a life which I could scarcely describe without shocking the reader. Amid all my vices, however, it was fortunate for me that I always listened with pleasure to religious discourses, not indeed with a view to derive any profit or instruction from them, but merely out of curiosity. (1849: 11)

Yet this preacher persuaded him of the fine but unknowable balance between redemption and perdition, and Ripa was horrified, and convinced. He joined the order, and was ordained in 1705. A Father

of the Order of Pious Labourers then suggested to him that he was destined for the Chinese mission as a secular priest, and he acted upon this suggestion. He sailed for China from England in 1708. He reached Macao, after enduring miserable conditions, at the beginning of 1710. He had some artistic training, and was soon ordered to paint for the emperor, K'ang-hsi. He lived in Beijing, painting and proselytizing until 1723. At this time the 'Chinese Rites' controversy, which involved the practice, condemned by Rome, of making offerings to the ancestors, was resolved, and in 1720 the new papal legate arrived in Beijing to enforce the decision of Rome, on pain of excommunication. The emperor could not tolerate this imposition by a Western authority on China, and forced an end to Catholic missionary activity. Ripa left Beijing towards the end of 1723, taking with him four Chinese pupils and their master. Back in Naples, Ripa was able to found the Collegio de' Cinesi with the intent of training young Chinese to be missionaries. It became the first school of oriental studies in Europe. The College, whose responsibilities expanded incrementally over the years to include South Asian languages and literatures, still exists in a much changed form as the Department of Asiatic Studies of the University of Naples.

Ripa's colleague in art and religion, the Jesuit brother Giuseppe Castiglione, had joined him in Beijing in 1715. Castiglione, later known in China as Lang Shih-ning, was sponsored at court by Ripa, and was presented to the K'ang-hsi emperor, whose long reign stretched from 1662 to 1722. Castiglione served him, and two successors, for the rest of his life. Though trained in Italy in the Baroque style, in China he cultivated, presumably on imperial orders, a hybrid style. Under the Qianlong emperor, who reigned from 1736 to 1796, Castiglione became an imperial favourite. Much of his painting was in the nature of pictorial documentation, and he was also engaged in architecture. The *Dictionary of Art* notes:

> His almost constant attendance at court excused him from some of the usual indignities inflicted upon his fellow missionaries by

the court eunuchs and underlings. He was made a member of the imperial painting academy and sometimes collaborated with other Chinese artists as well as Jesuits on large-scale projects. He also trained Chinese artists in Western techniques of painting and engraving, though such techniques do not appear to have been pursued after his death. In 1750 Castiglione was made, under protest, a mandarin of the third rank and as a result was required to wear silk robes embroidered with peacocks as well as a hat with a sapphire stud. When Castiglione reached the age of 70 the Qianlong emperor, in accordance with the traditional respect displayed towards advanced age, held a ceremony at the palace as a mark of special favour. When he died in 1766 he was given a state funeral, which probably combined Christian rites and Chinese customs and was attended by mandarins and members of the imperial household. (1996, vol. 6: 40)

Castiglione is still respected as an artist both on the mainland and in Taiwan. Any success as a missionary was presumably vitiated by his imperial duties.

38 Filippo Mazzei (1730-1816). *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale, par un citoyen de Virginie.* Paris: Froullé, 1788.

Filippo Mazzei was a Tuscan, born at Poggio a Caiano, about ten miles from Florence. He studied medicine, and practised as a doctor in Italy and the Middle East until he was in his mid-twenties, when he moved to London to establish a business as an importer of Italian foods, a business he pursued in England until 1773 when he moved to Virginia. Harry Morgan Ayres writes of him:

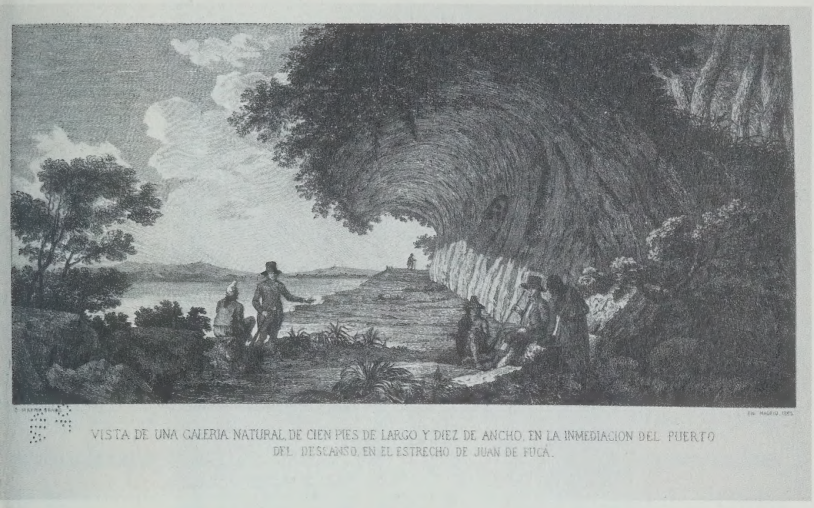
> Admiring England, where he had made his home, because a noble lord could be hanged there, he left it for America because he regarded the treatment afforded to Wilkes a denial of the

> principles of representative government. One who had ransacked London in company with Franklin looking, of all things, for a Franklin stove, would naturally have formed some hopeful ideas about the North American colonies. (Mazzei, 1942: vii)

He quickly became a friend of Jefferson and an active supporter of the Revolution. From 1779 to 1783 he was an agent of Virginia to secure arms in Italy. Mazzei wrote a political history of the American Revolution, published in Paris in 1788, and which is shown here. He later became an agent of King Stanislaus of Poland in Paris during the French Revolution. When Napoleon overthrew the Directory in 1799, Mazzei returned to Italy and lived in Pisa. There he composed his memoirs, entitled the *Memorie della vita e delle peregrinazioni del fiorentino Filippo Mazzei*, which he completed in 1813, at the age of eighty-two, but which were not published until 1845-1846, many years after his death, a death which did not go unnoticed in the United States. Newspapers in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia printed lengthy and accurate obituaries. In a letter of 18 July 1816 Thomas Jefferson expressed how much he valued Mazzei:

> An intimacy of forty years has proven to me his great worth, and a friendship which had begun in personal acquaintance, was maintained after separation, without abatement by a constant interchange of letters. His esteem too in this country was very general; his early and zealous cooperation in the establishment of our independence having acquired for him a great degree of favor. (Mazzei, 1980: 15)

Both Italy and the United States honoured Mazzei with postage stamps in 1980, the 250th anniversary of his birth. The American stamp is inscribed 'Philip Mazzei, patriot remembered.'



VISTA DE UNA GALERIA NATURAL DE CIEN PIES DE LARGO Y DIEZ DE ANCHO, EN LA INMEDIACION DEL PUERTO DEL DESCANSO, EN EL ESTRECHO DE JUAN DE FUCA.

39 Alessandro Malaspina (1754-1809). *Viaje político-científico alrededor del mundo por las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida al mando de los capitanes de navío D. Alejandro Malaspina y Don José de Bustamante y Guerra desde 1789 á 1794*. Madrid: Abienzo, 1885.

40 Alessandro Malaspina. *The Malaspina Expedition, 1789-1794: Journal of the Voyage by Alejandro Malaspina*. London: The Hakluyt Society, in association with the Museo Naval, Madrid, 2001-2004.

In their book *Pioneers of the Pacific*, Rigby, Merwe, and Williams entitle a chapter 'The lost voyage of Alessandro Malaspina,' and as a capsule assessment this title is quite correct. Alessandro Malaspina was an Italian who joined the Spanish navy as a midshipman in 1774 and served with distinction, making his way up through the ranks until in 1786 he was appointed to command the frigate *Astrea* and undertook a voyage to the coasts of South America, some of the Pacific islands, and the Philippines. On his return he was appointed Commandant of Marines at Cadiz, and with his colleague José Bustamante, started to draw up plans for a voyage around the world. In a letter of 10

Plate 1. Alejandro Malaspina in the uniform of a Brigadier de la Real Armada. Anon. Museo Naval, Madrid

September 1788 to Antonio Valdés y Bazín, the Minister of the Navy, entitled 'Plan for a scientific and political voyage around the world,' Malaspina wrote:

> For the past twenty years two nations, the English and the French, in noble competition, have undertaken voyages of this sort in which navigation, geography and humanity itself have made very rapid progress. The history of human society has thus been founded on much wider research; natural history has been enriched with almost endless discoveries; and possibly the most exciting victory has been the preservation of health in the course of long sea voyages through different climates while facing the most challenging labours and dangers. The proposed voyage would aim to accomplish these objectives, and this part, which can be termed the scientific aspect, would certainly be undertaken following earnestly in the wake of Cook and La Pérouse. But a voyage undertaken by Spanish navigators must

necessarily involve two other objectives. One is the making of hydrographic charts covering the most remote regions of America and the compilation of sailing directions capable of providing safe guidance to inexperienced merchant mariners. The other is the investigation of the political status of America both in relation to Spain and to other European nations. (2001, v. 1: 312-313)

Malaspina and Bustamante were allowed to build two identical state-of-the-art corvettes, named *Descubierta* (*Discovery*) and *Atrevid* (*Daring*) with a length of about 110 feet, and a beam of about twenty-seven feet. In his introduction to the Hakluyt Society volumes, Donald C. Cutter notes:

> An obvious bonus of having identical vessels in the hands of skilled navigators was that during the entire sixty-two month voyage in good weather and bad, in uncharted seas, and faced with many obstacles, not a single day was lost in one vessel searching for the other. (Malaspina, 2001, v. 1: xxxv)

The expedition, despite some forced changes in routes and schedule, was a notable success, and subsequent to his return to Cadiz in September 1794 Malaspina was promoted to Brigadier (Admiral) de la Real Armada. Unfortunately, his liberal and idealistic outlook caused him to be involved in a political scandal. Howgego writes:

> He was arrested on 24.11.95 and imprisoned in Castillo de San Anton, in the harbour of La Coruña, largely through the machinations of Manuel Godoy, the first minister, who saw Malaspina as a dangerous malcontent. Malaspina had proposed that instead of plundering the nations which she had conquered, Spain should develop a confederation of states in which members would perform international trade. He suggested that Spain should abandon her conquest of these far-off lands and establish

> a Pacific Rim trading bloc, managed by the Spaniards from Acapulco in Mexico. (2003: 672)

With his arrest and disgrace, the plans for a seven-volume account of the expedition was abandoned, and Malaspina's name was eliminated even from the single volume of a subsidiary part of the expedition which was published in 1802. The edited and abridged version of Malaspina's journal, shown here, was published in Madrid in 1885. The original journal was finally published in Spain in 1990 as part of the multi-volume series devoted to the expedition, and the Hakluyt Society published the English translation of the journal in three volumes between 2001 and 2004. The lost voyage was, after two centuries, retrieved. Malaspina was released from prison in 1803 and spent the remaining seven years of his life in relative poverty in Italy. He sold his sextant, the essential tool of a navigator, in 1806. He died at Pontremoli in April 1810.

CASE SIX

FOR KNOWLEDGE AND FOR GAIN

The nineteenth century was more a time of colonization and exploitation than of exploration. Belgium and the newly unified Germany and Italy joined Britain and France in the race to divide up Africa. South and Southeast Asia were largely dominated by the French, Dutch, and British, while Australasia was in the process of having its indigenous peoples marginalized, conquered or exterminated to make way for largely British majority populations. Only in the earliest-colonized regions of the Americas had independence been achieved - but by the descendants of the colonizers rather than by the indigenous peoples, who were absorbed, displaced, or in some cases left alone by the descendants of the Spanish, Portuguese, French, British, and Dutch who had appropriated their lands. The explorers were not discovering new lands so much as finding out more about the poorly known lands: their physical characteristics, geography, and geology; their exploitable resources; their human populations; their flora and fauna; and the remains of their ancient civilizations. Of our four Italian nineteenth-century travellers, one was responsible for the presence in the British Museum of a monolith bust from Egypt weighing seven tons and twenty-five feet tall, known as 'Young Memnon," or Rameses II; one claimed to have found the source of the Mississippi in northern Minnesota (he was mistaken); one, a geographer, was caught in Equatoria by the Mahdist insurrection; and one, a naturalist, explored the forests of Borneo, and on a later expedition to Sumatra discovered the titan arum, the plant with the largest flowering structure in the world. This last, Odoardo Beccari, sent seeds to the Royal Botanical Gardens in Kew where the first, very malodorous, blooming of this species in cultivation occurred in 1889; another example bloomed in Brooklyn Botanical Gardens in August 2006, to much media attention.

41 Jacopo Morelli (1745-1819). *Dissertazione intorno ad alcuni viaggiatori eruditi veneziani poco noti: pubblicata nelle faustissime nozze del nobile uomo il signore Conte Leonardo Manino con la nobile donna signora Contessa Foscarina Giovanelli.* Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1803.

The books on our nineteenth-century travellers are prefaced with a nuptial book from the beginning of the century; a book in honour of the marriage of the Venetian Count Manino and Countess Giovanelli, mentioned in the title, and which describes the travels of five little-known Venetians of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, with brief notes on several others, including the brothers Zeno (see Case 1). These travellers, with famous Venetian names like Bembo and Soderini, largely confined their travels to the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. The book opens with a fine engraving of two winged maidens supporting a Venetian coat-of-arms incorporating the Lion of Saint Mark.

42 Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778-1823). *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs, and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia: and of a Journey to the Coast of the Red Sea in Search of the Ancient Berenice, and another to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon.* London: Murray, 1821.

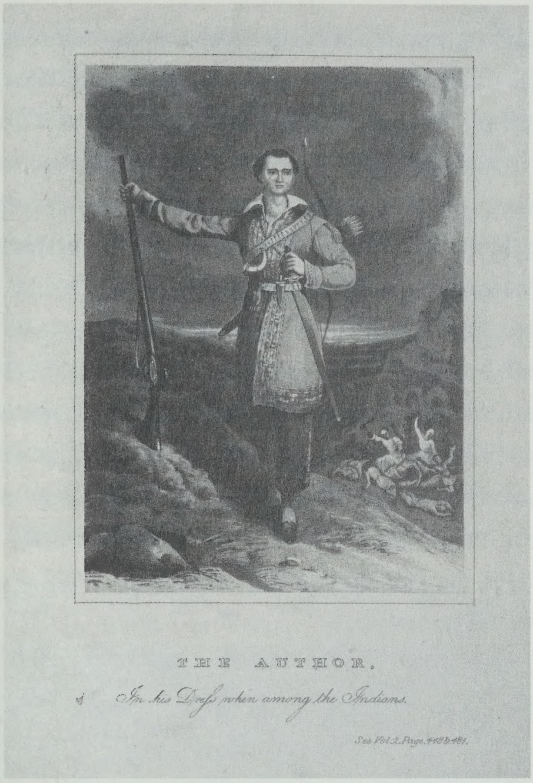
At the end of the eighteenth century, Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt (1798-1801) piqued the interest of antiquarians everywhere. As many as two hundred artists executed the more than three thousand drawings which were published between 1809 and 1828 in the monumental set of volumes *Description de l'Egypte*. There was something of a mania in Europe for things Egyptian, and Egyptian motifs appeared in architecture and the decorative arts. It was unfortunate that Egypt's magnificent art treasures were 'virtually at the disposal of anyone who had the desire and wherewithal to get hold of

them.' (Belzoni, 2001: 18) The Paduan Giovanni Battista Belzoni arrived in Egypt in June 1815. He was then thirty-six years old. For his time he was a huge man, standing six feet seven inches tall with a strong physique. He came from a family of barbers, and himself studied hydraulics, but for many years and in many countries he earned his living as a circus strong man, accompanied by his very capable English wife, who was somewhat unkindly described as being of equally generous build. Belzoni was advertized as the 'Patagonian Samson' and his trademark act was the human pyramid, in which he lifted eleven persons and carried them around the stage. His patron was the traveller and antiquarian Henry Salt, who in 1815 was appointed British consul-general in Egypt. Though Belzoni had first travelled to Cairo to offer a hydraulic machine of his own invention to Mohammed Ali Pasha, the Albanian mercenary who had become the ruler of Egypt, he had also been persuaded by Salt to find new treasures to send back, for an appropriate fee, to the British Museum. The Pasha rejected his hydraulic machine, even though it worked as described, and Belzoni left for Thebes to recover and prepare for shipment the colossal stone head, the 'Young Memnon,' a task that Napoleon's men

had been unable to achieve. This was just the beginning of Belzoni's activities in Egypt. His archaeological methods were often destructive - he was, after all, motivated to find hidden treasures so that he could sell them to collectors - but his discoveries at Abu Simbel, Karnak, Luxor, Giza, and the Valley of the Kings laid the foundation for the scientific study of Egyptology. Howard Carter, of Tutankhamen fame, described him, somewhat ambivalently, as one of the most remarkable men in the entire history of archaeology. In 1819 Belzoni returned to England, his adopted country. The following year he published the book that made him famous, shown here in its second edition. His wife probably helped with the writing of the book; Belzoni's English was described by Byron as 'very prettily broken.' She also provided her own *Mrs. Belzoni's Trifling Account of the Women of Egypt, Nubia, and Syria*, based on the information she had gathered while travelling independently of her husband. The book was a critical and public success, and a second and a third edition followed. It was also translated into French (1821), German (1821), and Italian (1825). Belzoni was an independent and proud man, and over time even his relations with his supporters soured. At the end of his narrative he writes:

> At last, having put an end to all my affairs in Egypt, in the middle of September, 1819, we embarked, thank God! for Europe: not that I disliked the country I was in, for, on the contrary, I have reason to be grateful; nor do I complain of the Turks or Arabs in general, but of some Europeans who are in that country, whose conduct and mode of thinking are a disgrace to human nature. (1821: 437)

In 1821, Belzoni the showman organized an exhibition of the objects he had gathered at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly. At the inauguration, Belzoni appeared wrapped in mummy bandages. He went back to Africa in 1823 with the intent of reaching Timbuktu by the Guinea Coast route. He died of dysentery at a village called Gwato, near Benin in southern Nigeria, on 3 December 1823.



43 Giacomo Costantino Beltrami (1779-1855). *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America: leading to the Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi and Bloody River; with a Description of the whole Course of the Former, and of the Ohio.* London: Hunt and Clarke, 1828.

Giacomo Costantino Beltrami was an exile from pre-unification Italy. He grew up in Bergamo, and quickly rose through the ranks of the Napoleonic judicial system in the Veneto region. With the fall of Napoleon in 1815 he left the judiciary and returned to his estate in Le Marche. He was liberal in his politics, and desired independence for Italy. Eventually the papal government which controlled Le Marche charged him with being a member of the *Carbonari*, the pro-independence movement linked to the Masons. He was able to clear his name in Le Marche, but in 1821 he was exiled from Venice after being impli-

cated in a plot against the Austrian-controlled government. Not lacking for money, he spent some time travelling through Western Europe and England. In 1822 he sailed from Liverpool for the United States, landing in Philadelphia after an extremely unpleasant and lengthy voyage, before going on to Baltimore and Washington (where he was received in a somewhat informal way by President Monroe). Using available transportation, he made his way westwards across the Appalachian Mountains, into the Ohio Valley, and north to Pittsburgh. From there he headed southwest until he reached the confluence of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, in southern Illinois at the Missouri border. There, instead of following his plan to travel south towards New Orleans, he decided to head north on the steamboat *Virginia*, which was able to travel upstream as far as Fort St. Anthony (near the present-day Minneapolis St. Paul conurbation). Waldman and Wexler write:

> From Fort St. Anthony, Beltrami traveled up the Minnesota River with a U.S. Army expedition commanded by Major Stephen Harriman Long. Long had been assigned to survey the border between the U.S. and Canada, from the Red River of the North eastward to Lake Superior. Near Pembina, in what is now northeastern North Dakota, Beltrami left Long and his soldiers and traveled southeastward up the Red Lake River by canoe, in search of the source of the Mississippi River. In mid-August 1823, following an attack by Sioux, Beltrami's Chippewa guides abandoned him. Unskilled at paddling, he waded upstream, towing the canoe behind him. He entered Red Lake, and there obtained new Indian guides. Soon afterward, he came upon an as yet unnamed lake, which he christened Lake Julia [for his friend Giulia Spada de Medici, who had died in 1820]. A stream he observed flowing southward out of this body of water he wrongly concluded was the source of the Mississippi. (The true source is Lake Itasca). (Waldman and Wexler, 1992: 58-59)

With this accomplishment behind him, Beltrami again headed south to St. Louis, and eventually to New Orleans, where he wrote his account. It must be said that Beltrami tells, in epistolary form, a very picaresque story which many found difficult to believe. Though he was mistaken about the source of the Mississippi, in 1866 the Minnesota state government named a county, containing the Red Lake which he explored in 1823, after him. From 1823 on his life grew slowly less picaresque. He travelled in and wrote about Mexico, collected Aztec objects, classified plants and animals, and observed the political system. He was present at the opening of the Erie canal in 1825, and managed to visit Haiti and Santo Domingo before sailing back to Europe in 1826. He died at his estate at Filottrano in the province of Ancona in 1855.

Fig. 23.—RAFFLESIA TUAN-MUDÆ, BECC. (flower 22 inches in diameter).

44 Odoardo Beccari (1843-1920). *Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo*. London: A. Constable, 1904.

In the preface to this English edition of his *Nelle foreste di Borneo* (1902), published over forty years after the expedition it describes, Odoardo Beccari writes:

> In Borneo, the largest island of Malaysia, an English Rajah and an English Ranee rule with pure autocracy a state which in area equals England and Wales, and has its fleet and its army, yet is without telegraphic communication with the rest of the world; possesses not only no railroads, but no roads, and is clothed by dense and interminable forests in which wanders the orang-utan. Here the natives live a primitive life, are in part still mere savages, true man-hunters, who delight in hanging in their houses the smoked skulls of their human victims, as a homage to imaginary supernatural spirits and as a proof of their bravery. This is the kingdom of Sarawak .... (1902: xi)

Beccari had met James Brooke, the 'White Rajah' of Sarawak at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew in 1863. He had just graduated from the University of Bologna, and spent some months at Kew, where he met not only Brooke, but also Charles Darwin and the botanists William Jackson Hooker (1785-1865) and his son Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911). In 1865, at the age of twenty-two, Beccari followed Brooke to Sarawak where he explored, gathered specimens, and studied the plants, animals, and people for three years. His main interest as a botanist was in the palms (he described 130 species), but he also collected a great many other plants, sea-shells, insects, butterflies, and animals. Like many before him, Beccari contracted malaria, and he was forced to return to Florence in 1868. He was able to go back to Southeast Asia in 1872, exploring and collecting in New Guinea and Indonesia, and again in 1877, visiting India, Malaysia, Australia and Tasmania, and New Zealand. In 1878 he spent five months in the mountain forests of Sumatra, and it was here that he found the famous titan arum. For much of the rest of his life Beccari pursued his activities as an independent scholar since his relations with the scientific authorities in Florence were difficult. The publication of his book about Borneo in 1902 brought him some fame, but the greater part of his publications were on his special interest, the palms.

45 Gaetano Casati (1838-1902). *Ten years in Equatoria, and the Return with Emin Pasha.* London; New York: Frederick Warne and Co., 1891.

Gaetano Casati was born at Lesmo, just north of Milan, and studied at Pavia. In 1859 he joined the corps of *Bersaglieri*, and served in the Italian army for twenty years, taking part in the wars of independence against Austria. His obituary in the *Geographical Journal* of 1902 notes:

> In 1879, when forty-one years of age, Casati resigned his commission in the army in order to be able to devote himself entirely to geographical work. An opportunity of acquiring practical experience as a pioneer explorer speedily presented itself to him. Gessi Pasha, who was then engaged in subduing Suleiman Pasha, wrote home to Italy from the Bahr-el-Ghazal asking that a young officer with some knowledge of cartography might be sent out to him to undertake the exploration of the Welle basin. Casati was selected for the post, and before the end of 1879 was on his way to the Equatorial Province. Shortly after, Gessi Pasha was summoned to Khartum, and Casati found himself left alone in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, practically thrown upon his own resources. The country was in a very unsettled condition, but in spite of the difficulties of the situation Casati continued the operations against the slave-traders as long as he could, and managed to make his way south to the Welle basin. Here he travelled widely, meeting, it may be mentioned, in the course of his wanderings, the famous German traveller Dr. Junker. In 1883, after many exciting experiences, Casati made his way to Lado, where Emin Pasha had taken up his position. (1902: 647)

Emin Pasha had been the governor of the then Egyptian province of Equatoria on the upper Nile since 1878. He succeeded General Charles George 'Chinese' Gordon, who was later to have fame thrust

upon him at the year-long siege of Khartoum, and with his death at the hands of the Mahdists after the fall of the city in 1885. Emin, whose real name was Schnitzer, was born in Silesia in 1840. By 1875, after a varied career, he had established a medical practice in Khartoum, and also worked as a naturalist, collecting plants, animals, and birds, many of which he sent to museums in Europe. He claimed to be a Muslim, taking the name Mehemet Emin, though it is not clear if he ever actually converted. In 1885 the advance of the Mahdi's troops forced Emin Pasha to withdraw from his position at Lado to Wadelai, further south near Lake Albert, where he was cut off from Egypt, but able to maintain communications through Buganda. Though relatively secure where they were, Emin Pasha, Casati, and their men were 'rescued' by a relief expedition from the Congo led by the relentless Henry Morton Stanley, who lost two-thirds of his own men on the journey. The survivors, with the reluctant Casati and Emin Pasha, reached the East African coast at Bagamoyo, across the channel from Zanzibar, in December 1889. The obituary comments: 'If [Casati] made no very striking discoveries during his ten years' residence amongst the head-

waters of the Nile, [he] at least collected a good deal of scientific information about the region.' (1902: 647) On his return to Italy, Casati wrote about his experiences, and published *Dieci anni in Equatoria e ritorno* at Milan in 1891. The English edition was published in the same year, with a notable Victorian illustrated front cover showing Casati bound to a tree in Unyoro, a real incident from which he was fortunate to escape. He seems to have been a good and charitable man, with great sympathy for the Africans he met, for his rescuer Stanley reports in his *In Darkest Africa* (1890: 544) that Casati, despite being ill and weak, refused to make his African companions (Stanley called them his servants) build a shelter for him, or help him to bathe in the springs close by. 'I have no servants,' he said. He is remembered for his ethnographic description of the Sandeh (Azande), or Niam-Niam people of southern Sudan and the neighbouring parts of Zaire and the Central African Republic. To the Azande's north lies Darfur.

The Duke of the Abruzzi's party returns from Mount St. Elias, 1897.

CASE SEVEN

TO THE ENDS OF THE EARTH

As the nineteenth century drew to a close the number of challenges left to explorers and adventurers was dwindling. The North and South Poles, the highest mountains, the depths of the oceans, heavier-than-air flight all remained to be achieved (or, in the preferred language of exploration, to be conquered), but the great discoveries had been made. Antarctica alone was found to be uninhabited, which, ironically, confirmed the existence of the empty Terra Australis of the discredited world views of Ptolemy, and Macrobius (shown in the small case in the Reading Room). By 31 July 1954, with the ascent of K2, the second highest mountain in the world, by an Italian mountaineering party, these major challenges had been met. Just three years later, on 4 October 1957, the launch of Sputnik marked the beginning of the Space Age, and only fifteen years later, on 20 July 1969, a man stepped onto the surface of the moon.

Robert Peary (1856-1920) was, as some believe, the first to the North Pole, and Roald Amundsen (1872-1928) was first to the South Pole, while Edmund Hillary (1919-) and Tenzing Norgay (1914-1986) were the first to reach the summit of Everest (it was Tenzing's seventh Everest expedition); but two of the greatest explorers of the early twentieth century, little remembered today, were Italian. They were Luigi Amedeo, Duke of the Abruzzi (1873-1933), and Umberto Nobile (1885-1978).

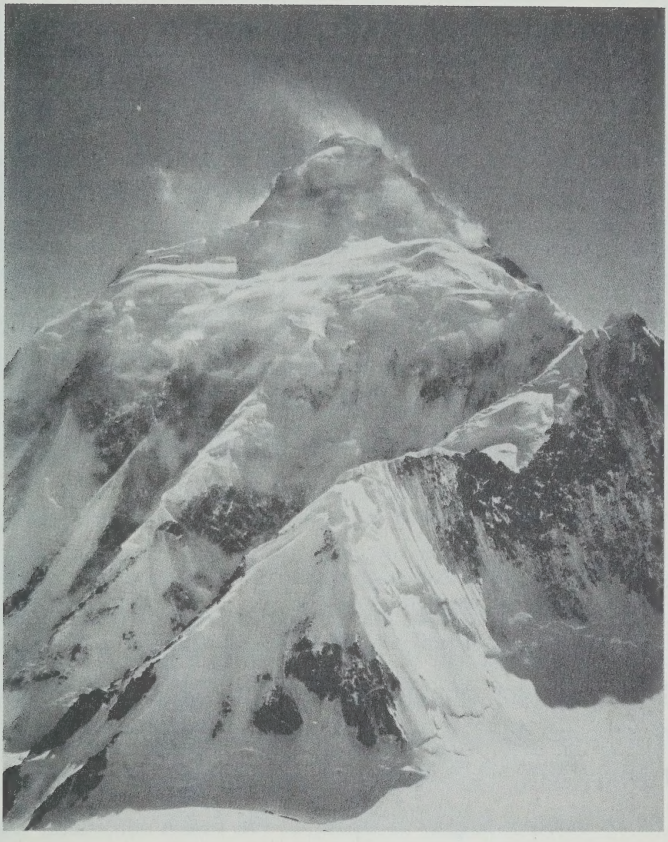
46 Filippo De Filippi (1869-1938). *The Ascent of Mount St. Elias (Alaska) by H.R.H. Prince Luigi Amedeo di Savoia, Duke of the Abruzzi.* Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1900.

47 Luigi Amedeo di Savoia, duca degli Abruzzi (1873-1933). *La Stella Polare nel mare Artico, 1899-1900*. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1904.

48 Filippo De Filippi. *Karakoram and Western Himalaya, 1909: an Account of the Expedition of H.R.H. Prince Luigi Amedeo of Savoy, Duke of the Abruzzi*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1912.

In 1861 Victor Emmanel of Savoy became the first king of the newly united Italian provinces, with the title of King of Italy, and it was declared that Rome should one day become the national capital (Mack Smith, 1969: 51). His grandson Luigi Amedeo di Savoia, Duke of the Abruzzi, was born in Madrid in 1873, during the last year of the brief reign of his father, King Amedeo of Spain (1845-1890), who soon abdicated, declaring the Spanish people to be ungovernable. Luigi Amedeo did not aspire to be a ruler, but he did educate and train himself to become the greatest Italian mountaineer and explorer of the first decades of the twentieth century.

His career was as an officer in the Italian navy. From 1889 to 1891 he was a very young officer on board the wood-hulled sailing ship *Amerigo Vespucci*, which sailed westward around the world. On this voyage he met a young lieutenant named Umberto Cagni, ten years his senior, who became his faithful companion on many of his expeditions and served him loyally throughout his naval career. (Tenderini and Shandrick, 1997: 20) The Duke spent part of the years from 1892 to 1894 mountaineering in Europe, where he climbed the Matterhorn by a difficult route, led by the British mountaineer Albert F. Mummery (1855-1895). After another circumnavigation of the world, this time on the battle cruiser *Christopher Columbus*, the Duke pledged to climb Nanga Parbat in the Himalayas, where Mummery had died in an avalanche in August 1895. But in 1896 the Himalayas were closed to expeditions because of an outbreak of the plague, and the Duke instead determined to climb Mount Saint Elias, on the Alaskan coast



near the Canadian border, which at 18,008 feet is one of the highest peaks in North America. The mountain had been sighted by Vitus Bering in 1741, who named a nearby point of land, Cape Saint Elias, after the saint's day on which he spotted the peak, and in 1778 Captain James Cook surveyed the mountain and named it after the Cape. In 1791 the Italian explorer Alessandro Malaspina (see Case 5) 'discovered a glacier estimated to be more than eighty miles (129 kilometers) long and more than forty miles (sixty-four kilometers) across at its widest, [an area] greater than the state of Delaware. Eighty-three years later, in 1874, a mapping expedition from the U. S. Hydrographic Office officially named the massive sheet of ice and rock the Malaspina Glacier.' (Tenderini and Shandick, 1997: 33). Five earlier attempts to

climb Mount Saint Elias had failed, but the Duke's party reached the summit on 31 July 1897. Tenderini and Shandrick write:

> The men were elated. They had walked, scrambled, and dragged the sledges over 100 miles (161 kilometers) in fifty-two days, almost always in fog, rain, or snow, and not one accident had occurred, nor had anyone been taken seriously ill. They had committed only one error - in their euphoria at reaching the end of their journey, they had abandoned their sledges on the rocks of the Malaspina and with them their tents. As a result, the entire party was forced to spend a sleepless night on the beach exposed to the hungry mosquitos. (1997: 44)

Efficient planning and thorough organization was normally a hallmark of Luigi Amedeo's expeditions. In 1899 he led an Italian/Norwegian expedition in an attempt to reach the North Pole. His ship the *Stella Polare*, a converted whaler, sailed to Franz Joseph Land, close to the limit of the permanent pack ice. The plan was to reach the Pole by dog sled across the ice. The expedition wintered on Rudolf-Island, where the Duke lost two fingers to frostbite. He ceded command over the polar attempt to Captain Cagni, who reached latitude 86°34' on 25 April 1900, surpassing Nansen's achievement of 1895. In 1906 Luigi Amedeo led an expedition to the Ruwenzori Range, on the border between Uganda and the Congo (Zaire), which had been noted by Casati during his Equatoria expedition (see Case 6). His teams scaled sixteen summits in the range, one of which now bears his name.

The Duke often chose to live as if he were a private citizen. He did not like to be accompanied by an entourage when away from his naval and royal duties, and occasionally travelled alone. Nevertheless, he was a prince of a ruling family. He was in the public eye, and Tenderini and Shandrick wrote:

> The crowned heads of Europe looked upon the Duke as Italy's finest and most available bachelor of royal blood. Both Kaiser

> Wilhelm II of Germany and his uncle, King Edward VII, admired the Duke for his mountaineering and yachting achievements. The Kaiser was keen to have the Duke marry a German princess to cement Italy's membership in the Triple Alliance. King Edward wanted him to marry an English princess. In the end, both were disappointed. The Duke, while an ardent admirer of women, seemed immune to the attentions of the royal princesses paraded before him. Having circled the globe several times and visited every continent, he was truly a man of the world, influenced by many cultures, particularly by America, where people could marry outside their class. (1997: 88)

It is perhaps no surprise, then, that he formed a relationship with a young American woman from a wealthy political family, Katherine Elkins. There was talk of an engagement, and the whole affair was front-page news in Italy and in the United States, but both families had strong reservations about such a marriage, and Katherine's father, a Senator with aspirations to the Presidency, publicly stated that the pair were not engaged to be married. Not long after, at the end of 1908, the romance ended. Tenderini and Shandrick note:

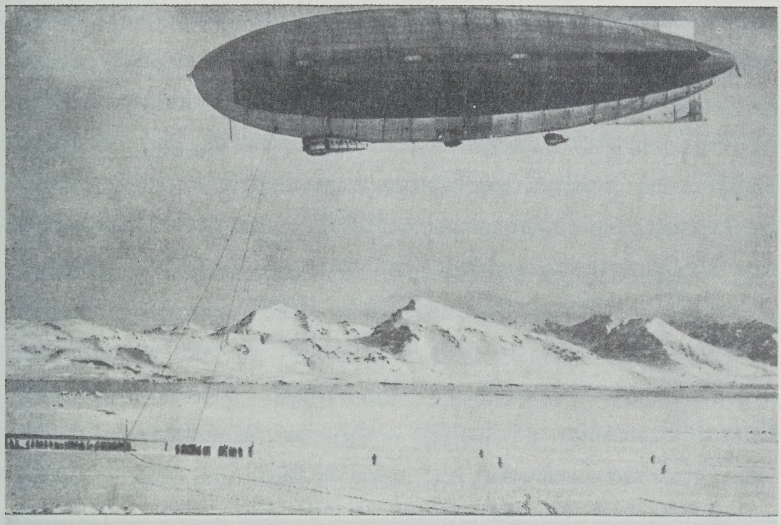
> Luigi di Savoia would have other loves but he would never marry. Katherine married in 1913 - and later divorced - but continued to wear a diamond and emerald ring the Duke had given her, as well as a medallion containing a lock of his hair. The walls of her room were covered with his photographs, and in her will, she stipulated that she be buried with a bracelet that had been another gift from the Duke. When she died in 1936, three years after the Duke, at the age of fifty, her funeral was delayed until at last the bracelet was found and placed upon her wrist. (1997: 101)

In 1909 he was finally able to lead an expedition to the Himalayas, with the aim of climbing Mount Godwin Austen (K2). The party did not

reach the peak, though at 24,600 feet they set a new record for the highest altitude attained. For this expedition, as with the polar expedition, magnificent photographs were taken by the renowned wilderness photographer Vittorio Sella, widely considered one of the greatest mountain photographers of all time. During the First World War, Luigi Amedeo rose to command the Italian fleet in the Adriatic. After differences of opinion with the high command he resigned his commission in 1917. Almost a quarter of a century before he had participated in a naval military expedition into Italian Somaliland, as second in command of the gunboat *Volturno*. He fell in love with the country then, and spent much of the last fifteen years of his life exploring the Shebeli River region of Somalia, where eventually he was able to establish an experimental agricultural settlement of sixteen villages near the town of Jawhar, eighty miles northeast of Mogadishu. The experiment, which received financial support from, among others, his former fiancée Katherine Elkins, was a success, but the Duke's health was failing, and in 1933 he returned to his Somali village from Italy, and died there on 18 March. He was buried, as he wished, in the village, the Villaggio Duca degli Abruzzi. The village was destroyed by war in 1993.

Luigi Amedeo's expedition to the Karakoram range in 1909 employed photographic mapping techniques to survey a route to the peak of K2. The data that he gathered aided the Italian expedition of 1954, whose Achille Compagnoni and Lino Lacedelli, though out of oxygen, reached the summit and returned safely. Their achievement on the much feared K2 rivals the first conquest of Everest. Compagnoni returned to Pakistani Kashmir in 2004 as part of the fiftieth anniversary celebrations. His nephew, Michele Compagnoni, successfully scaled K2 that year, on 26 July.

49 Roald Amundsen (1872-1928) and Lincoln Ellsworth (1880-1951). *The First Flight across the Polar Sea.* London: Hutchinson & Co., [1927].



116 - Il ritorno dell'«Italia» alla Baia del Re dopo il viaggio alla Terra di Nicola II.

50 Umberto Nobile (1885-1978). *In volo alla conquista del segreto polare: da Roma a Teller attraverso il Polo nord.* Milan: A. Mondadori, 1928.

51 Umberto Nobile. *L'Italia' al Polo nord.* [Milan]: A. Mondadori editore, 1930.

52 *The Red Tent.* Screenplay by Ennio De Concini and Richard Adams; directed by Mikhail Kalatozov. Hollywood, California: Paramount Pictures, 2005, c1969.

Roald Amundsen led the first party to reach the South Pole, on 14 December 1911, a month ahead of the ill-fated party of Captain Scott. But it is very likely that the Norwegian also led the first expedition to reach the North Pole, by airship, in May 1926. The assumption here is that neither Robert Peary's party, travelling over the ice in April 1909, nor Richard Byrd and Floyd Bennett, by airplane just a day before Amundsen's flight began, actually achieved the Pole. Amundsen's flight is usually credited to him and his American millionaire companion Lincoln Ellsworth (1880-1951); but the airship *Norge*, in which

they made the first flight from Europe to America by way of the North Pole, lifting off from King's Bay, Spitsbergen and continuing over the ice cap to Teller, Alaska, was designed and constructed in Italy and piloted by Umberto Nobile, with a largely Italian crew. Amundsen and Ellsworth published their account of the flight in 1927, with relatively little mention, and no identified photographs, of Nobile. The first full-length Italian account, *Col 'Norge' sulla via del Polo*, written by Antonio Quattrini, a journalist who had been left behind in Leningrad, appeared in 1926, while Nobile's own account only appeared in 1928. Immediately after the flight there was bad blood between Amundsen and Nobile. Nobile maintained that the international press had overlooked his important contribution to the mission as both pilot and designer of the *Norge*. Amundsen criticized Nobile's ability as an aviator and navigator, and characterized him as a 'boasting dreamer' and an 'epauletted Italian.' Amundsen, despite the successful flight, also expressed the view that dirigibles were unreliable and impractical, and devoted some ninety-five pages in his autobiography of 1928, *My Life as an Explorer* to the denigration of Nobile. In Alexander McKee's account:

> [Amundsen] wrote: 'This hired skipper of a Norwegian ship owned by an American and myself shall not be permitted to usurp honours that do not belong to him. This record is written to prevent it.' The sheer blind-eyed bile evidently on the boil behind this shows how badly Amundsen had been upset, granted that he never was a very nice man in the first place. Nobile was to make a quiet, technical reply to the Norwegian's charges, but he never retaliated at Amundsen's level of denigration (except for a mild hint that Amundsen was a bit of a passenger on the *Norge*). Privately, however, when questioned years later, some months before his death in Rome in 1978, he angrily dismissed the Norwegian's biography as just 'Amundsen's lies.' The resentment had lasted a full half-century. (1979: 83)

In 1928, Nobile returned to Spitsbergen as sole leader of his own expedition, with a new airship, named the *Italia*, and an Italian and international crew, including Swedish meteorologist Dr. Finn Malmgren from the *Norge* flight. The *Italia* left Spitsbergen on 23 May 1928. The dirigible reached the Pole easily, and dropped the flag of Italy and a large cross given by Pope Pius XI, who had blessed the *Italia*. On the return flight to Spitsbergen the expedition ran into bad weather - intense cold, adverse winds, and icing conditions. The *Italia*, heavy with ice, could not maintain altitude, and crashed onto the pack ice 180 miles northwest of Spitsbergen. The impact caused the control gondola, carrying Nobile and eight others, to break away, while the lightened airship drifted off out of control. No trace was ever found of the seven men aboard it. Nobile suffered a broken leg and arm on impact, and the crew members suffered a variety of injuries, with one man killed. The weak and injured men held out in a tent, which they had painted red for visibility. Fortunately, the men had a repairable radio, and were able to transmit a continuous distress signal which, eventually, was picked up. In the meantime, Finn Malmgren and two others set off over the ice to obtain help. The two were eventually rescued, but Malmgren was not with them, and there was some suspicion that he may have been killed, and even cannibalized. Waldman and Wexler wrote:

> Sixteen ships, 21 airplanes, and more than 1,500 men from Italy, Norway, Sweden and the Soviet Union took part in the search and rescue efforts for Nobile and his crew. Amundsen, despite his previous differences with Nobile, agreed to the Norwegian government's request that he join the search; he perished when his plane disappeared en route to Spitsbergen. On June 24, 1928, Nobile's red tent was sighted from the air by Swedish aviator Einar Lundborg, who then made a landing on the ice. With room in his plane for only one passenger, Lundborg decided to take Nobile back first so that the commander of the expedition could more effectively supervise the rest of the rescue effort.

> The others were later rescued by ship [the Soviet icebreaker *Krassin*]. Nonetheless, with charges of cannibalism already leveled against one member of the expedition, Mussolini took a dim view of the fact that Nobile had been the first to be saved, and he ordered the aviator to be put under arrest for allegedly deserting his men. (1992: 469)

In 1929 an Italian board of inquiry found Nobile at fault. Nevertheless, in January 1930 Nobile was invited to Stockholm by the Royal Swedish Geographic Society, which awarded him the Andrée Plaque - named for a lost Swedish arctic explorer whose three-man balloon disappeared en route to the Pole in 1897 - an award granted only to five polar explorers. From 1931 he worked in the Soviet Union, teaching aeronautics and advising on airship design and construction. On his return to Italy he spent three years teaching at the University of Naples, then, in 1939, he moved to the United States, again to teach aeronautical engineering. At the end of World War II the new Italian government exonerated him of responsibility for the *Italia* disaster, and Nobile lived out his life in Italy. He died in Rome in 1978 at the age of ninety-two. He lived to see an adventure movie made about the *Italia*. *The Red Tent* (1971), a Russian/Italian/American co-production, starred Peter Finch as Nobile and Sean Connery as Amundsen. The plot is a fantasy in which the aged Nobile debates the disaster with the ghosts of the dead, while the story of the crash, the survival in the tent, and the rescue, is told in long flashbacks. A little love interest is added by the presence of Claudia Cardinale as a nurse. The movie is entertaining, but bears little relationship to the actual events.

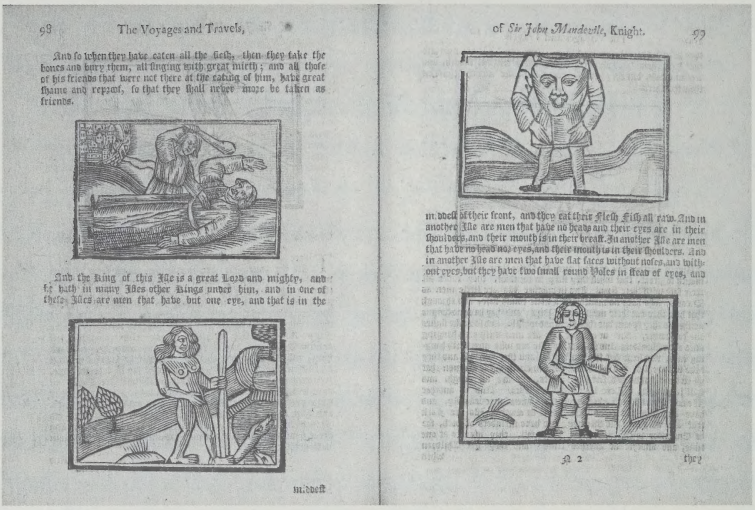
Nobile was a good aeronautical engineer and a capable leader, pilot, and navigator, though his own accounts of the flights are, to say the least, self-serving. He also had his eccentricities - he took his little dog named Titina with him on both polar flights, and the creature even survived the crash, and was rescued with him.

CASE EIGHT

LITTÉRATEURS AND LIARS

We have already learned of the travels of the Venetian navigators Antonio and Nicolò Zeno in the North Atlantic in 1380, as related by their descendant Niccolò in his book of 1558 (see Case 1). Niccolò cleverly associated his ancestors' probably fictional voyage with the factual travels of his father, the merchant Caterino Zeno (d. 1539), who travelled through Persia and the Middle East. Though the chart was almost certainly a late fabrication, as Lucas (1898) and others have demonstrated, some scholars have now accepted Antonio and Nicolò's voyage as a real one. Their Frisland has been identified with the Faeroes, and Estland with the Shetlands. There is less doubt in the case of the writer of travellers' tales known to us as Sir John Mandeville. He selected from the available narratives of genuine travellers, embellished them with marvels and monsters, and presented the result as his own adventures. According to his account he began his travels on Michaelmas Day 1322, and returned in 1356. Parry notes, in *The European Reconnaissance*: 'The book is well constructed, well written, and very entertaining; and this, no doubt, was what its author chiefly intended.' (1968: 25)

53 Sir John Mandeville (fl. 1356). *The Voyages & Travels of Sir John Mandevile, Knight: wherein is set down the Way to the Holy Land, and to Hierusalem, as also to the Lands of the Great Caan, and of Prester John, to Inde, and Divers Other Countries, together with Many and Strange Marvels therein.* London: R. Scot, 1684.


58 The Voyages and Travels,

And so when they have eaten all the flesh, then they take the bones and bury them, all singing with great mirth; and all those of his friends that were not there at the eating of him, have great shame and reproof, so that they shall never more be taken as friends.

And the King of this Ile is a great Lord and mighty, and he hath in many Iles other Kings under him, and in one of these Iles are men that have but one eye, and that is in the middeſt

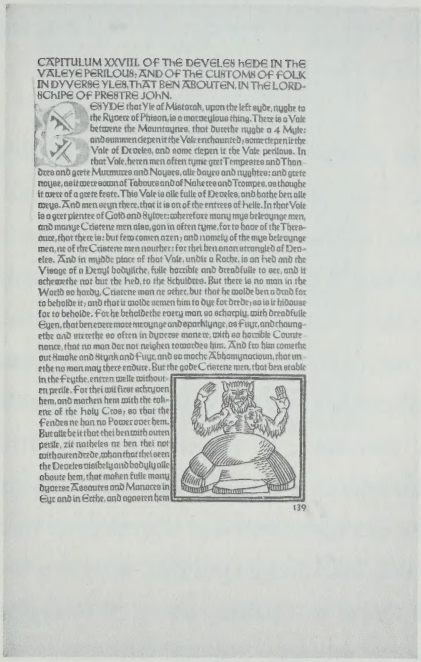
of Sir John Mandeville, Knight. 59

in middeſt of their front, and they eat their flesh all raw. And in another Ile are men that have no heads and their eyes are in their shoulders, and their mouth is in their breast. In another Ile are men that have no head nor eyes, and their mouth is in their shoulders. And in another Ile are men that have flat faces without noses, and without eyes, but they have two small round holes in stead of eyes, and

54 Sir John Mandeville. *The Voiage and travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Kt. : which Treateth of the Way to Hierusalem, and of Marvayles of Inde, with other Ilands and Countryes.* New York: Edwin and Robert Grabhorn for the Random House, 1928.

Mandeville drew on the accounts of the missionary ambassadors Giovanni del Pian de Carpine (d. 1252), despatched by Pope Innocent IV in 1245, and William of Rubruck, sent by Saint Louis in 1251. Their writings were in part transcribed in the *Speculum historiale*, one volume of an encyclopaedia compiled by Vincent of Beauvais towards the middle of the fourteenth century (see Case 1). Mandeville drew from Marco Polo's travels, and in particular from Odorico da Pordenone (1265?-1331), who travelled to the East between 1316 and 1318, and who spent three years in Beijing (see Case 1). In his bibliographical note to Mandeville's *Travels*, A. W. Pollard writes:

> The simple faith of our childhood in a Sir John Mandeville, really born at St. Albans, who travelled, and told in an English book what he saw and heard, is shattered to pieces. We now know that our Mandeville is a compilation, as clever and artistic



CAPITULUM XXVIII. OF THE DEVELES HEDE IN THE VALEYE PERILOUS; AND OF THE CUSTOMS OF FOLK IN DYVERSE YLES THAT BEN ABOUTEN IN THE LORDSCHIPE OF PRESTRE JOHN.

EYDE that Yle of Mistorak, upon the left eyde, nyghe to the Ryvere of Phison, is a merveylous thing. There is a Vale betwene the Mountaynes, that dureth nyghe o 4 Myle: and ben men clepen it the Vale enchaunted; some clepen it the Vale of Develes, and some clepen it the Vale perilous. In that Vale, heren men often tyme gret Tempestes and Thonderes and gret Mutturres and Noyses, alle dayes and nyghtes: and gret noyse, as it were soune of Tabours and of Nakeres and Trompes, as thoughe it were of a gret feste. This Vale is alle fulle of Develes, and hathe ben alle weys. And men seyn there, that it is on of the entrees of Helle. In that Vale is a gret plenyte of Gold and Sylver: wherefore many mys beleevynge men, and manye Cristene men also, gon in often tyme, for to have of the Tresoure, that there is: but fewe comen azen; and namely of the mys beleevynge men, ne of the Cristene men nouther: for thei ben anon strangled of Develes. And in mydde place of that Vale, undik a Roche, is an Hed and the Visage of a Devyl bodyliche, fulle horrible and dreadfulle to see, and it schrewethe not but the Hed, to the Schuldres. But there is no man in the World so hardy, Cristene man ne other, but that he wolde ben a drad for to beholde it; and that it wolde semen him to dye for drede; so is it hidouse for to beholde. For he beholdethe every man, so scharply, with dreadfulle Eyen, that ben evere moor mevynge and sparklynge: as Fuyr, and therynge ethe and streythe so often in Dyverse maneres, with so horrible Countenance, that no man dar not neighen towardes him. And fro him comethe out Smoke and Stynk and Fuyr, and so moche Abhaunynacioun, that unethe no man may there endure. But the gode Cristene men, that ben stable in the Feythe, entren welle without-en perile. For thei ne fleen echuyoen hem, and marken hem with the token of the holy Cros; so that the Fendes ne han no Power over hem. But alle be it that thei ben with outen perile, zit natheles ne ben thei not withouten drede, whan that thei seen the Develes visibely and bodyliche about hem, that maken fulle many dyverse Assautes and Manaces in Eyr and in Erthe, and ogoeren hem

139

as Malory's 'Morte d'Arthur,' from the works of earlier writers, with few, if any, touches added from personal experience; that it was written in French, and rendered into Latin before it attracted the notice of a series of English translators (whose own accounts of the work they were translating are not to be trusted), and that the name Sir John Mandeville was a *nom de guerre* borrowed from a real knight of this name who lived in the reign of Edward II. (1900: vii)

Mandeville's book was widely read in manuscript copies in the fifteenth century, and in print from the beginning of the sixteenth century and thereafter. An early English edition was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1499. His own reading must have been comprehensive to have provided him with the accounts of the history, customs, religions, and legends of the regions he claims to have visited. His legendary lands include the realm of Prester John, and the Caspian Mountain abode of the ten lost tribes of Israel. His accounts were

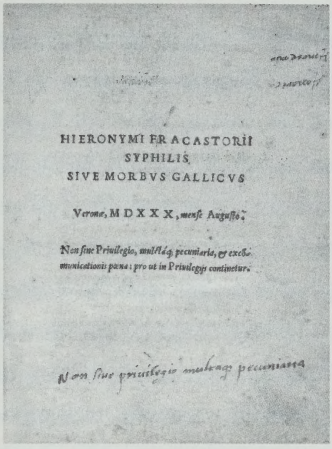
valuable because little new intelligence was coming from the East. Parry writes, in *The European Reconnaissance*:

> In the middle of the fourteenth century all this coming and going ceased. The Black Death inhibited travel. The militant Muslim power of the Ottoman Turks imposed a new barrier between East and West. The Tartar Empire broke up. In 1368 the descendants of Kublai Khan were driven from their Peking throne by a native dynasty, the Mings, who brought back the traditional official distaste and contempt for western barbarians. Mandeville, therefore, in popularizing information derived from Odoric, Marco Polo, and the rest, was not only fixing Cathay in the European mind as a symbol of wealth and splendor; he was also describing a political situation which, when he wrote in the 1360s, was passing away, to be replaced by one far less favorable to western contact. No news of this overturn reached Europe. The notions which Mandeville put about could not effectively be questioned. When Columbus, over a hundred years later, tried to reach Cathay by sailing west - an enterprise which Mandeville would surely have applauded - he carried letters of credence for the Great Khan. (1968: 31)

55 Girolamo Fracastoro (1478-1553). *Fracastorii Syphilis, sive, Morbus gallicus*. Verona: printed by S. Dei Nicolini da Sabbio and Brothers, 1530.

56 Girolamo Fracastoro. *Syphilis. Written in Latin by that Famous Poet and Physician Fracastorius; English'd by Mr. Tate* in, John Dryden, *Examen poeticum*. London: Printed by R. E. for J. Tonson, 1693.

While Columbus brought back no message from the Great Khan, his sailors, by some accounts, did bring back a new plague that swept



HIERONYMI FRACASTORII
SYPHILIS
SIVE MORBVS GALLICVS

Veronæ, M D X X X, mensē Augusto.

Non sine Priuilegio, multaq; pecuniarie, & excō-
municationis pœna: pro ut in Priuilegio continetur.

Non sine priuilegio multaq; pecuniaria

through western Europe, which the Spaniards called the French disease, the French the Neapolitan or Italian disease, and the Germans the Spanish disease: we now call it syphilis. The New World origin was not the belief, however, of Girolamo Fracastoro, the greatest physician of his generation. Fracastoro is sometimes credited with proposing a scientific germ theory of disease, though Stephen Jay Gould comments:

> In the hagiographical tradition still all too common in textbook accounts of the history of science, Fracastoro has been called the father of the germ theory of disease for his sensitive and accurate characterization ... of three styles of contagion: by direct contact (as for syphilis), by transmission from contaminated objects, and at a distance through transport by air. Fracastoro discusses particles of contagion called semina (seeds), but this term, taken from ancient Greek medicine, carries no connotation of an organic nature or origin. Fracastoro does offer many speculations about the nature of contagious semina, but he never mentions microorganisms, a hypothesis that could scarcely be imagined more than fifty years before the invention of the microscope. (2000: 44)

What he did do was give the disease a name and a mythical origin

story, describe its symptoms and progression, and propose two treatments (one of which, involving mercury, was at least partially effective, if almost as harmful as the disease), all in the frame of thirteen-hundred epic lines of Latin hexameter. The eponymous Syphilis of Fracastoro's poem was a shepherd from the lost Island of Atlantis who, in a time of severe drought, cursed the sun and destroyed Apollo's altars. The god inflicts the disease upon the people, and the blame falls on Syphilis. The contemporary sailors of the unnamed Columbus also incur the wrath of the sun god, by killing parrots sacred to him, but the New World descendants of the Atlanteans, a pitch black race, teach them how to treat the disease with a local plant remedy, guaiacum, or *lignum vitae*, which in reality proved to be ineffective. Fracastoro still called the disease *morbus gallicus*, the French disease, but by association with his unfortunate shepherd the disease itself came to be called syphilis. Gould notes:

> No truly effective treatment for syphilis existed until 1909, when Paul Ehrlich introduced preparation 606 (Salvarsan). Genuine (and gratifyingly easy) cures only became available in 1943, with the discovery and development of penicillin. Identification in the first stage, followed by one course of penicillin, can control syphilis, but infections that proceed to later stages may still be intractable. (2000: 47)

The assumed New World origin of syphilis has recently been cast into doubt by the discovery at Metapontum in southern Italy of sixteen skeletons dating from 600 to 250 B.C. (that is, at least 1,700 years before Columbus sailed) with bone lesions caused by the class of bacteria called treponemes, which when transmitted sexually lead to syphilis. Scientists now postulate that the disease, and its related childhood infection yaws, was present in isolated pockets throughout Europe long before Columbus, and was possibly mistaken for leprosy. Its renewed virulence at the end of the sixteenth century may well have been due to a New World strain to which Europeans had little resistance.

57 Christoforo Armeno (16th cent.). *Peregrinaggio di tre giovani figliuoli del Re di Serendippo*. Venice: Tramezzino, 1584.

This collection of tales about three clever princes who survive many tests of their penetrating intelligence, keen perception, sound judgment, and physical skills on their travels is stated to have been translated from the Persian by one Christoforo Armeno. In fact the tales - many of which were known in Venice a century or more before their publication - are mostly of Indian origin, and were probably compiled by the printer Tramezzino. The motifs of the magical mirror, of feigned penitence, the laughing statue, the ill-treated adulteress, and the three hypocritical virgins can all be traced to Indian sources. Theodore Remer states:

> The name 'Serendip' was probably adopted for the locale of the tales because of the big news then current - the conversion of Ceylon to Christianity (about 1552); because it gave the title of the book an exotic and attractive flavor; and because it provided an ancient Indian background. (Christoforo Armeno, 1965: 48)

Serendip was the former name of Ceylon, now Sri Lanka. The English word 'serendipity' was coined by Horace Walpole. In a letter of 1754 he says that he formed it from the title of a fairy story, *The Three Princes of Serendip*, because the princes 'were always making discoveries, by accidents and sagacity, of things they were not in quest of.' Walpole, the fourth earl of Orford, was an author and historian remembered for his encyclopaedic *Correspondence*, and for the refined Gothic architecture and gardens of his estate at Strawberry Hill in Twickenham. Although he was the son of the statesman Sir Robert Walpole, he took little interest in politics. His novel *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) was the first of the Gothic genre in England. That story incorporates some supernatural motifs, such as a materialized gigantic hand, perhaps remembered from the 'silly fairy tale' that he had first read in the French translation (*Le voyage et les aventures des trois princes de Sarendip,*

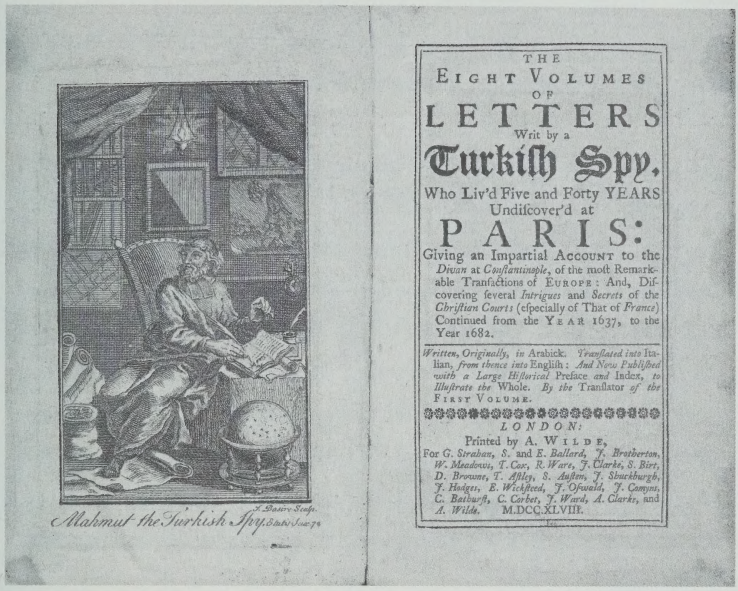
Paris, 1719), by de Mailly. The only part of Walpole's original definition of serendipity which persists in current usage is the sense of 'happy accident.'

58 Giovanni Paolo Marana (1642-1693). *Suite de l'espion dans les cours des princes chrétiens, ou, Lettres et memoires d'un envoyé secret de la Porte dans les cours de l'Europe.* Traduit de l'anglois. A Cologne [Amsterdam?]: Chez Erasme Kenkus, 1700.

59 Giovanni Paolo Marana. *L'espion dans les cours des princes chrétiens, ou, Lettres et mémoires d'un envoyé secret de la Porte dans les cours de l'Europe.* Cologne: E. Kinkius 1731.

60 Giovanni Paolo Marana. *The Eight Volumes of Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy, who Lived Five and Forty Years Undiscover'd at Paris: giving an Impartial Account to the Divan at Constantinople, of the most Remarkable Transactions of Europe, and Discovering several Intrigues and Secrets of the Christian Courts, especially of that of France, continued from the Year 1637 to the Year 1682.* London: Printed by A. Wilde, for G. Strahan [etc.], 1748.

In 1683 the Turkish siege of Vienna was lifted, and the city saved, by the army of the Polish king Jan III Sobieski. The first volume of *L'espion du grand-seigneur, et ses relations secretes envoyées au divan de Constantinople; & découvertes à Paris, pendant le regne de Louis le Grand* was published in Paris and Amsterdam in 1684. The statement of responsibility reads: 'Traduites de l'arabe en italien par le sieur Jean-Paul Marana, et del'italien en françois par ***. Ces relations contiennent les evenemens le plus considerables de la Chrestienté & de la France, depuis l'année 1637, jusques en l'année 1682.' It was soon translated into English as *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*, and published in London in 1687. Arthur J. Weitzman, who edited a selection from the *Letters* in 1970, writes:


Mahmut the Turkish Spy.
THE
EIGHT VOLUMES
OF
LETTERS
Writ by a
Turkish Spy,
Who Liv'd Five and Forty YEARS
Undiscover'd at
PARIS:
Giving an Impartial Account to the
Divan at Constantinople, of the most Remarkable Transactions of EUROPE: And, Discovering several Intrigues and Secrets of the Christian Courts (especially of That of France)
Continued from the YEAR 1637, to the Year 1682.
Written, Originally, in Arabick. Translated into Italian, from thence into English: And Now Published with a Large Historical Preface and Index, to Illustrate the Whole. By the Translator of the FIRST VOLUME.
LONDON:
Printed by A. WILDE,
For G. Strahan, S. and E. Ballard, J. Brotherton, W. Meadows, T. Cox, R. Ware, J. Clarke, S. Birt, D. Browne, T. Astley, S. Austen, J. Shuckburgh, J. Hodges, E. Wickstead, J. Oswald, J. Camyns, C. Bathurst, C. Corbet, J. Ward, A. Clarke, and A. Wilde. M.DCC.XLVIII.

From all the evidence the author was Giovanni P. Marana (1642-93), an Italian journalist and Francophile, who resided for many years in France. Through extensive reading about Moslem culture, he conceived the notion of having a Turk visit Paris and write back to his friends and colleagues all that he saw and did. Marana gave expression to this highly original idea in a collection of letters in which a Moslem character finds his way in a European and Christian city. Marana may be said to have fathered the device of concocting a series of letters written by a visitor to a foreign country. This extraordinary literary invention, which later proved so congenial to Montesquieu and Goldsmith, introduces the genre of the literary letter of the foreign observer used so successfully in later history. (Marana, 1970: viii)

An example by Madame de Grafigny, her *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747), is also exhibited here. Marana's fictional Mahmut was sent to spy on the French for his master the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, but not all of his letters deal with affairs of state; some are personal letters to family and friends. He observes French civilization from the

point of view of a bemused but liberal Moslem (he defends, for instance, the education of women). Weitzman comments:

> As satire, *The Turkish Spy* impugns Christian and European insularity. The oriental machinery of the letters is effectively used as a counterpoint to European complacency of belief in religion and morality. Marana, who undoubtedly read travel accounts of the Middle East and Turkish Empire, ironically undercuts the intolerant Christian observer of Moslem religion and manners by creating a Moslem observer of Christian religion and manners. Mahmut, by turns the devout Moslem and then the sceptic, views Christianity and the Christian nations as, for example, earlier Christians did the nations of Islam. (Marana, 1970: xiii)

Mahmut has little time for the Roman Catholic clergy, who receive much abuse (the letters were placed in the Church's *Index* soon after they appeared). The later seven volumes of the collection were first published in England, in English, between 1691 and 1694, and were probably written by an Englishman. Marana himself died in 1693.

61 Françoise d'Issembourg d'Happoncourt, Mme de Grafigny (1695-1758). *Lettres d'une Péruvienne.* A Peine [i.e. France: La veuve Pissot, 1747].

62 Raimondo di Sangro, principe di Sansevero (1710-1771). *Lettera apologetica dell'Esercitato Accademico della Crusca: contenente la difesa del libro intitolato Lettere d'una peruana, per rispetto alla supposizione de' quipu.* Naples: [Gennaro Morelli], 1750.

Letters from a Peruvian Woman was among the most popular novels of the eighteenth century. First published anonymously in 1747, it appeared in more than 130 editions, reprints, and translations in the

1 Pachacamac
2 Viracocha
3 Yntí
4 Quilla
5 Chasca
6 Coyllur
7 Hiputy
8 Cuychu
9 Yllapa
10 Piumsun
11 Mayticmu
12 Yanrinmuy
13 Ynca
14 Coya
15 Auqui
16 Nusta
17 Manco-Capac
18 Oello
19 Sinchi-Roca
20 Mama-Cora
21 Curaca
22 Runa
23 Hanan-pacha
24 Vcu-pacha
25 Tuta
26 Puma
27 Veumari
28 Uncunca
29 Suri
30 Cuntur
31 Uritu
32 Umuy
33 Llautu
34 Amaru
35 Cilu
36 Muncaymin
37 Catollay
38 Quinquir
39 Cannat
40 Tacvchirac

hundred years following. The novel fell out of favour in the nineteenth century, and the new English translation published in 1993 was the first for almost two hundred years. The letters purport to have been written by an Inca princess, Zilia, to her brother and future husband Aza. Zilia is kidnapped by the Spaniards during their conquest of Peru, but is taken by the French after a battle at sea, and is somehow translated from sixteenth-century Peru to eighteenth-century France where she becomes, like Marana's Turk, an observer and critic of French society. She also condemns the atrocities of the Spaniards, and the cruelties of their religion which justify the deeds that the Conquistadors perpetrate against nature and the joy of life. Zilia writes her letters to Aza using the quipu, the system of knotted multicoloured cords (in the Quechua language, 'quipu' signifies 'knot') used throughout the Inca empire for record-keeping - though not, as is often thought, as a system of writing. In the first letter made after her capture she writes:

> Amid all this dreadful upheaval, I have, by some happy chance, managed to preserve my *quipus*. I have them, dearest Aza! Today they are my heart's sole treasure, for they shall serve as interpreter for your love as for mine. The same knots that will inform you of my existence shall, by changing form in your hands, tell me of your fate. (1993: 21)

Aza proves less than faithful, but Zilia declines an offer of marriage from her noble French captor Déterville, though she will accept him as a friend. Many contemporary readers were dissatisfied with this ending: they wanted the 'happy ending' of a wedding. De Grafigny, who had had her own troubles with marriage, would not provide this for them, so it was left to another anonymous writer, now identified as one Ignace Hugary de la Marche-Courmont (1728-1768) to write *Lettres d'Aza, ou, d'un Péruvien* (1749), giving the story of Zilia a conventionally happy ending.

Contemporary critics, not unnaturally, questioned the authenticity

of the original *Lettres*, but the book found an Italian defender in the person of Raimondo di Sangro, principe di Sansevero, a gifted, if eccentric, experimental scientist from Naples. Raimondo developed a process for printing simultaneously multiple colours in one impression (as is employed for the title page of the book shown here, printed in orange, green, and black). He contributed to the development of architectural materials, and to the science of ballistics and of the properties of metals. He also experimented with a method for preserving the organs of the body, and for reproducing in model form the organs and circulatory system with compounds based on beeswax. The results of his many experiments are conserved in the Museo Cappella Sansevero in Naples. The prince believed that the quipu was a writing system, and wrote his book to prove it and to defend Madame de Grafigny from her detractors. The *Lettres d'une péruvienne* is, of course, fiction, and Raimondo was mistaken in defending its literal veracity, but his book is the earliest full study of the quipu recording system.

Spanish authorities in Lima condemned the quipu as idolatrous in 1583 and ordered all examples burned. Today only six hundred Inca quipu survive. The information from a few quipu were transcribed in Spanish colonial documents, but no correlation of the transcriptions with existing quipu has yet been established. Known uses for the quipu are: census accounts, tax accounting, a count of items to be bought or sold, and basic numerical data. Their use as a writing system, rather than as a mnemonic device, has yet to be established.

DRAMA, POETRY, FICTION, AND EXPLORERS

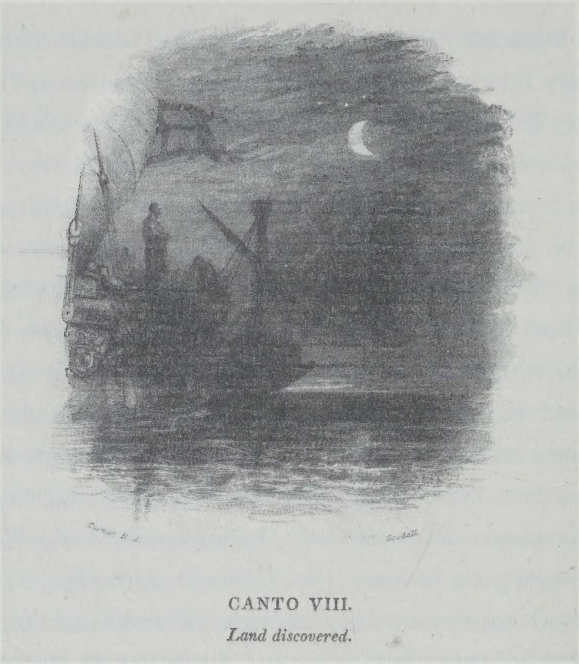
While Columbus, Vespucci, Pigafetta and others wrote and saw published accounts of their own voyages, and while the historians Peter Martyr and Ramusio gathered, edited and published the texts collected in the books that bear their names, the great discoveries they chronicled were little celebrated in verse before the end of the sixteenth century. As early as 1530 the physician and polymath Fracastoro had published his Latin poem which linked sailors returned from the New World to the spread of a virulent new disease that he (much later) identified as being sexually transmitted (see Case 8), but it was not until the 1580s and 1590s that long poems of exploration began to appear in Italy, in Latin and in Italian. The Fisher Library holds, for example, copies of Giovanni Giorgini's *Il Mondo Nuovo* ... (1596) and Tomaso Stigliani's *Del Mondo Nuovo* ... (1617) - long fanciful epic poems, less historical accounts than fictions full of romantic incident and supernatural events in exotic settings. In England, from the end of the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, Hakluyt, Purchas, Awnsham Churchill and John Green published, with some success, sober collections of voyages. British and American poets, dramatists, and novelists only began to make substantial contributions to Columbian literature at the time of the American Revolution, and of the three hundredth anniversary of Columbus's first voyage.

63 Thomas Morton (1764-1838). *Columbus, or, A World Discovered: an Historical Play, as it is performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden.* London: Printed for W. Miller, 1792.

Thomas Morton's play was one of only few written for the 1792 anniversary. Educated in the law, but more vitally interested in cricket and, more particularly, in the Marylebone Cricket Club, Morton wrote several popular comedies for the Covent Garden Theatre. *Columbus* combines episodes from history - with Columbus arrested by Roldan, and sent back to Spain in chains - with a romantic plot involving the Spaniard Alonzo and the obligatory Englishman Hubert, both loyal to Columbus, and their Indian loves Cora and Nelti. The struggle between the Indian forces aided by Alonzo and Hubert and the Spanish forces of Roldan is resolved in the Indians' favour by the return of Columbus. The Indians are portrayed as living a harmonious and peaceful life, and Cora first appears as a virgin attendant in the temple of the Sun God. The Europeans love gold, and will do anything to get it. Morton's plot, interestingly enough, is essentially similar to that used by the noted librettist Felice Romani (1788-1865) for Francesco Morlacchi's opera *Il Colombo* (1828), in which the American heroine is named Zilia (like Mme. De Grafigny's Peruvian woman) and the hero is Columbus's son Fernando. Another version of this story provided the basis for Dario Fo's one-person play *Johan Padan* written in 1992 to mark the five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery.

64 Samuel Rogers (1763-1855). *Poems*. London: T. Cadell, and E. Moxon, 1834.

Samuel Rogers was a mediocre poet, but a good and influential friend to many members of the social, political, and literary elites of his day. He helped Wordsworth, Richard Brinsley Sheridan and others, had works dedicated to him by Byron and Dickens, and counted among his friends the Americans William Cullen Bryant, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Herman Melville. His long poem *The Voyage of Columbus* was first printed for private circulation in 1810. In it Rogers attempts to honour Columbus for 'bringing the light of Christianity to a dark region of the world,' but employs



CANTO VIII.

Land discovered.

rather too many obvious Miltonic resonances. Rogers soon learned to commission illustrations which would enhance the commercial appeal of his work, and added seven illustrations prepared by J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851) to the version of the poem printed in the 1834 edition of his *Poems*, which sold extraordinarily well. Rogers's poem/travel guide *Italy*, also with illustrations, had sold very well in 1830. John Ruskin admired *Italy*, but more for Turner's vignettes than for Rogers's poetry or prose.

65 Washington Irving (1783-1859). *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*. London: John Murray, 1828.

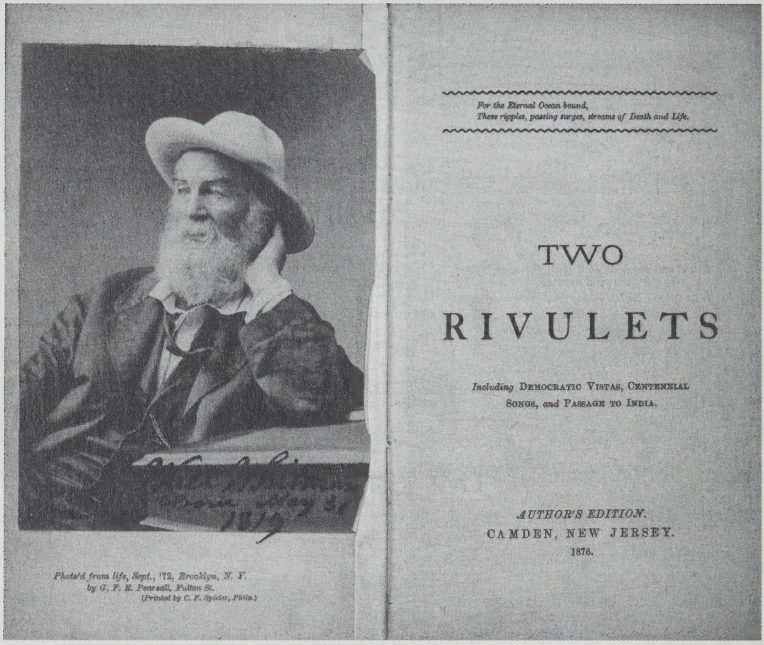
In the mid-1820s, Washington Irving was a moderately successful American writer living in England. He was invited to Spain to translate into English a collection of Columbiana belonging to the scholar Martín Fernández de Navarrete (1765-1844). Robert D. Madison writes:

> But Irving apparently found the work of merely translating too constraining, and instead went on to write one of the greatest biographies of an age rich with great biographies. In the best leisurely, lucid Romantic style, Irving's *Columbus* told the story of the life and voyages of the great dreamer. And while Irving may have told that story in a relatively simple manner, the story itself was heroic by all definitions. (1985: 75)

Other American writers had attempted long works on the theme of Columbus. Joel Barlow (1754-1812) wrote a philosophic poem, *The Vision of Columbus* (1787), which was read and admired in England and France. Unfortunately, by the time his expansion of the poem, *The Columbiad*, appeared in 1807, tastes had changed. The now 8350 line epic, which envisions the history and future of North America, failed to please the public. Barlow, a patriot, poet, and diplomat, who had been sent to France to negotiate a commercial treaty with Napoleon, became caught up in the retreat of the French army from Moscow, and died of exposure in a Polish village on Christmas Eve of 1812. James Fenimore Cooper's attempt at a novel on the Columbus theme, *Mercedes of Castile, or, The Voyage to Cathay* (1840) was compared unfavourably to Irving's narrative biography. It is among the least successful of Cooper's works.

66 Walt Whitman (1819-1892). *Two Rivulets: including Democratic Vistas, Centennial Songs, and Passage to India.* Camden, N.J.: Author's edition, 1876.

Walt Whitman's 'Prayer of Columbus' was first published in his collection of prose and poetry *Two Rivulets*, compiled 'to mark the first Centennial of our New World Nationality.' This first edition has mounted as its frontispiece a signed photograph of the poet. The poem was later included in editions of *Leaves of Grass*. In his introduction to the poem, Whitman wrote:


Photo'd from life, Sept., '72, Brooklyn, N. Y.
by G. F. E. Fenrall, Fulton St.
(Printed by C. F. Spieler, Phila.)
For the Eternal Ocean bound,
These ripples, passing surges, streams of Death and Life.
TWO
RIVULETS
Including Democratic Vistas, Centennial
Songs, and Passage to India.
AUTHOR'S EDITION.
CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY.
1876.

It was near the close of his indomitable and pious life - on his last voyage when nearly 70 years of age - that Columbus, to save his two remaining ships from foundering in the Caribbean Sea in a terrible storm, had to run them ashore on the island of Jamaica - where, laid up for a long and miserable year - 1503 - he was taken very sick, had several relapses, his men revolted, and death seem'd daily imminent; though he was eventually rescued, and sent home to Spain to die, unrecognized, neglected, and in want.

By 1876, Whitman himself had suffered a stroke and was in poor health. He was living with a brother in Camden, New Jersey where he published his Author's edition. He spent the summers on a nearby farm. In the preface to *Two Rivulets* he notes: 'At the eleventh hour, under grave illness, I gather up the pieces of Prose and Poetry left over since publishing, a while since, my first and main volume, LEAVES OF GRASS.' Whitman gives the failing Columbus a vision of the future:

And these things I see suddenly - what mean they?
As if some miracle, some hand divine unseal'd my eyes,
Shadowy, vast shapes, smile through the air and sky,
And on the distant waves sail countless ships,
And anthems in new tongues I hear saluting me.

Whitman himself, as it turned out, lived for sixteen years more.

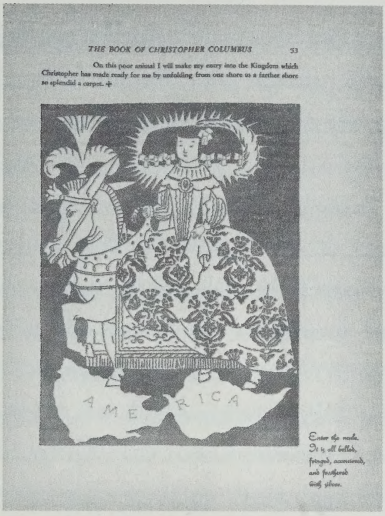
67 Alberto Franchetti (1860-1942). *Cristoforo Colombo: dramma lirico in tre atti ed un epilogo di Luigi Illica.* Milan: Ricordi, 1893.

In his essay 'Alberto Franchetti and *Cristoforo Colombo*' in *The Opera Quarterly*, Alan Mallach writes:

> On a winter day late in 1889 the mayor of Genoa led a small body of dignitaries up the steps to Giuseppe Verdi's apartment in the Palazzo Doria and into the presence of Italy's greatest composer. They had come to ask him to write a new opera to honor the city of Genoa and to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by the city's most famous native son, Christopher Columbus. (1992: 12)

But the commission was declined. The seventy-six-year-old Verdi (1813-1901) was working on what was to be his last opera, *Falstaff*. When asked to suggest a suitable composer in his stead, Verdi came up with the name of Alberto Franchetti - he had recently heard and had been impressed by the young composer's first opera, *Asrael*. Franchetti accepted the commission for the new 'Columbus' opera, and was provided with a libretto by the equally young Luigi Illica (1857-1919), who would become famous as a librettist for Puccini, Mascagni, and Giordano. *Cristoforo Colombo*, given its first performance in Genoa in 1892, proved to be an elaborate semi-historical pageant six hours in length. It is reported to have appealed to the public more for the scenic panorama of the voyage than for anything else. The opera was,

however, well received, and after two performances the young Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957) took over the baton. He became *Cristoforo Colombo*'s champion, and subsequently conducted a large number of productions in Italy, and as late as 1940 performed an extract with the NBC Symphony. The success of *Cristoforo Colombo* brought Franchetti widespread recognition, and his name was for a time linked with those of Puccini and Mascagni as a prominent member of the younger school of Italian music. But, as Mallach notes, 'By the 1920s, though still very much alive and composing, Franchetti was almost completely forgotten.' (1992: 28)


THE BOOK OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS 53
On this poor animal I will make my entry into the Kingdom which Christopher has made ready for me by unfolding from one shore to a farther shore so splendid a carpet.
AMERICA

68 Paul Claudel (1868-1955). *The Book Of Christopher Columbus: a Lyrical Drama in Two Parts.* New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press, 1930.

Darius Milhaud's opera *Christophe Colomb*, with libretto by Claudel, had its first performance in Berlin in 1930. By reputation it is one of the most expensive, difficult, elaborate and spectacular of any of the twentieth-century operas to produce. Its requirements include forty-five vocal soloists, an off-stage orchestra, non-singing actors, and a huge chorus. It is interesting for the early use of film images projected onto a screen behind the stage. At the end of the work, the old Columbus is summoned by the dying Queen Isabella. He sends her his mule, and she rides to heaven on it across a carpet which depicts America. The illustrations to the book of the text are by the artist Jean Charlot (1898-1979), a Frenchman with Mexican Aztec ancestors. Claudel was a dramatist, poet, essayist, and diplomat who served as France's ambassador to Tokyo, Washington, and Brussels in the 1920s and 1930s. A devout Catholic, religion was the most important element in his writing. His *Christophe Colombe* is among the masterpieces of Columbian literature.

Unlike Columbus and, to a lesser extent, Vespucci, Marco Polo and his journeys did not provide a subject for early modern poets and dramatists. Gasparo Gozzi (1713-1786), an essayist and journalist, was the brother of the dramatist Carlo Gozzi (1720-1806), best known for his Chinese fable *Turandot*. The elder Gozzi wrote his play *Marco Polo* in 1755. It was not a success, and does not appear to have been produced. It was only in the twentieth century that Marco Polo became a frequent subject of novels and plays, but it would still perhaps be a surprise to learn that in 1925 Eugene O'Neill wrote a full-length drama about Marco Polo, which was produced in an edited version in 1928.

69 Eugene O'Neill (1888-1953). *Marco Millions: a Play*. New York: Horace Liveright, 1928.

O'Neill had originally written two plays, with a combined running time of six hours. The shortened version was a success, and ran for 102 performances at the Guild Theatre, New York City, with Alfred Lunt in the role of Marco Polo; by this time the book was in its fifth printing. Margaret Loftus Ranald, in *The Eugene O'Neill Companion*, writes:

> The play is, of course, an indictment of the materialism of American society, particularly that of the American businessman immortalized by Sinclair Lewis in Babbit. Marco is the quintessential successful salesman, Rotarian, and Lion; it is most fitting that the princess awards him the Order of the Lion. Marco thinks only in terms of money, profit and loss, bonuses, and economic gain - even where marriage is concerned. He is practicality personified, without emotion and without morality, as is indicated by his sales presentation for that new invention, the cannon. His capitalism is also a kind of Fascism, or even Nazism, in its oppression of the poor, suppression of free expres-

sion, and imprisonment of those perceived as malcontents. As an arms salesman, Marco also uses arguments which have later become very familiar as the doctrine of the preemptive nuclear strike. (1984:420)

Marco spurns the love of Kukachin, the Khan's daughter, for the love of money. She, on her deathbed, forgives him, but Polo still cannot turn his mind from commerce, and returns to Venice to marry his patient, wealthy fiancée. In his epilogue, O'Neill has the costumed Marco Polo rise from his aisle seat in the first row, proceed to the lobby, and wait until his luxurious limousine draws up at the door. Polo gets in briskly, the car edges away, and Marco Polo, with a satisfied sigh at the sheer comfort of it all, resumes his life. (1928: 183)

70 Louis MacNeice (1907-1963). *Christopher Columbus: a Radio Play*. London: Faber & Faber, 1944.

The Irish poet Louis MacNeice was, from 1941, a script-writer and producer for the BBC, continuing to live in London until his death. His verse play for radio, *Christopher Columbus*, was first broadcast in October, 1942, with Laurence Olivier (1907-1989) taking the part of Columbus. In his appendix to the published play MacNeice wrote: 'One thing that seems to be agreed about Columbus is that, whether or not he was a first-class navigator, he was a man of one idea with an almost mystical faith in his mission. This is how I have tried to portray him.' (1944: 90) The play incorporates much incidental music and many vocal interludes, composed by William Walton (1902-1983). It ends with Columbus's triumphant return to Spain after the discovery. MacNeice notes that the programme was intended to celebrate the 450th anniversary of the discovery of America, and for this reason it does not include the explorer's unfortunate later voyages and the poignant record of his decline and fall. (1944: 88)

71 Laurence Dakin (1904-1972). *Marco Polo: a Drama in four Acts*. Portland, Maine: Falmouth Publishing House, 1946.

In literature, Marco Polo cannot evade love, whether with Kublai's daughter or with a slave girl. In Laurence Dakin's verse play, Marco learns of Golden Bells, the Khan's daughter, from a Chinese sea-captain encountered in Venice. Once in China, Marco gains the favour of Kublai Khan, and the love of Golden Bells, only to lose her to plague-like fever. She dies in his arms. The relatively obscure Dakin, a Canadian trained in medicine, spent most of his life in the United States. He wrote and published verse plays, chiefly on Classical subjects - *Ireneo*, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, *Tancred*, *Prometheus* - and *Marco Polo*, which John Masefield called the work of a genius. Dakin's last book, published in the year of his death, was a fictionalized biography of the short-lived Victorian poet Ernest Dowson, the 'Swan of Lee.'

72 Dario Fo (1929-). *Johan Padan*. Turin: Abele, 1992.

73 Dario Fo. *Johan Padan and the Discovery of the Americas.* New York: Grove Press, 2001.

The Italian playwright, actor, director and general iconoclast Dario Fo was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1997. The award was the subject of great controversy in Italy, and around the world - a result of Fo's anarchic political stance and activism, his low standing as an actor and clown among the higher critics, and the preference of the said critics for a senior Italian poet who, they thought, was more deserving of the award. *Johan Padan* is a Columbus story for the five hundredth anniversary told from the point of view of a last-minute conscript assigned to clean the shipboard pig stalls. He goes on to be adopted by a tribe of Indians, and helps them fight the Conquistadors. The play is a monologue written in a pastiche of languages and dialects - Lombard, Venetian, Catalan, Castilian, Provençal, Portuguese, and Arabic - with explanatory and discursive addresses to the audience that keep them aware of Fo's presence as a modern actor. The translator Ron Jenkins writes:

> Fo's sly notion that imagination 'enables you to remember more' suggests that imagination is a necessary element in historical memory, allowing us to remember things that might not have actually happened but that are a necessary component of historical truth. Fo invents outrageous scenes to make history vivid to the senses: a lesson on how the American Indians cooked iguanas; an acrobatic account of making love on a hammock; a battle chronicle in which the Conquistadors are vanquished by fireworks. (2001: viii)

Fo is also a visual artist, and illustrated his own play for the Italian and English editions. Johan Padan is a modern version of the Zanni character, or Harlequin, from the *Commedia dell'Arte*. His skill with a needle and thread, stitching up the battle wounds of the Indians, wins

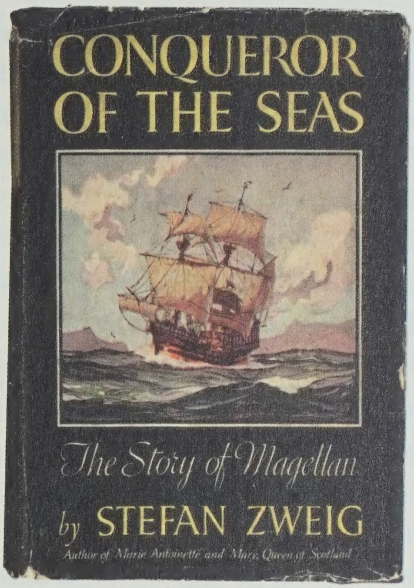
him their favour, and a long life in an American paradise far from the invading Conquistadors and priests.

74 Italo Calvino (1923-1985). *Invisible Cities*. New York; London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978.

Italo Calvino presents a more sombre view of human life in his 1972 novel *Le città invisibili*, a bestseller in Italy, and all over the world in translation. Marco Polo creates for his patron Kublai Khan's entertainment and edification descriptions of fifty-five cities in the Khan's vast empire, each of which is also Marco's native Venice. The cities are linked by association: cities and memory; cities and desire; cities and signs; thin cities; trading cities; cities and eyes; cities and names; cities and the dead; cities and the sky; continuous cities; hidden cities - and, as Gore Vidal points out in his essay for *The New York Review of Books*, the emperor soon determines that each of these fantastic places is really the same place.

75 Stefan Zweig (1881-1942). *Conqueror of the Seas: the Story of Magellan*. New York: The Viking Press, 1938.

Stefan Zweig was born into a Jewish family in Vienna, though Judaism did not play a central part in his education, and he later said 'my mother and father were Jewish only through accident of birth.' He became famous in the 1920s and 1930s for his plays and fiction, and in particular for his biographies. He fled Austria in 1934, and lived first in England, where he became a naturalized citizen, then in the United States, and Brazil. In February, 1942 he and his second wife Lotte committed suicide by poison, in the hill resort of Petrópolis. They believed that Nazism would spread over the whole earth and Stefan wrote: 'I think it better to conclude in good time and in erect bearing a life in which intellectual labour meant the purest joy and personal freedom the highest good on earth.' He has sometimes been maligned as a pacifist who would not join in open condemnation of Fascism and



a Jew who did not show solidarity with his people, yet he expressed the wish that his friends would see the end of the horrors that had crushed him. His narrative of Magellan's attempted circumnavigation, his death, and Pigafetta's return to Seville with the eighteen survivors of the 265 who had set sail, stemmed from the curiosity aroused by Zweig's ocean voyage to South America, and his disappointment at the dearth of information about Magellan in some books chosen from the ship's library. Comparing his comfortable voyage to those of the early explorers, he wrote:

> Try to picture how they set forth, on ships little larger than fishing-smacks, to explore the unknown, to sail they knew not whither, lost in the infinite, ceaselessly in peril, exposed to all the vicissitudes of storm, to every kind of privation. No light when darkness had fallen; nothing to drink but the brackish, lukewarm water stored in butts, supplemented by occasional rainfall; nothing to eat but biscuit that was often mouldy, and pickled pork that was often rancid - and not always a sufficiency of these unpalatable viands. No beds, no rest-room; stifling heat

or pitiless cold, made worse for the mariners by the consciousness that they were alone in the unending desert of waters. For months, for years, no one at home knew what had become of them, any more than they themselves knew where they were going. (1938: xiii)

Such was the origin of his book. The doughty Pigafetta was astonished to learn that he had reached his home port on a Thursday, though by his faithful log it was Wednesday. Zweig wrote: 'This discovery, that one who counters the earth on its rolling course will have gained a day when the full circle has been traversed, was as exciting to the humanists of the sixteenth century as has been the theory of relativity to those of our own generation.' (1938: 286-7). Published in 1938 in German in Vienna (but not in Germany), *Magellan* was in the same year translated into English, Finnish, French, Italian, Norwegian, and Slovak.

76 Donn Byrne (1889-1928). *Messer Marco Polo*. New York: The Century Co., 1923.

The Irishman Brian Oswald Donn-Byrne, who wrote as Donn Byrne, completed *Messer Marco Polo*, his first, brief, historical romance, in about three months in 1921. It appeared in installments in three issues of *The Century Magazine*, and then in book form for Century and, in England, for Sampson Low. It was received to critical acclaim in England and in the United States. In September 1921 Byrne received a letter from the novelist James Branch Cabell (1879-1958), a leader in the romantic school of writing in America. It read:

> This is but a word of the very heartiest conceivable congratulations upon *Messer Marco Polo*, which appears to me the most beautiful and exquisite thing I have encountered in I know not how many years. It seems a book, in fine, that I have waited for a long while, and I thank you most cordially for writing it. (Macauley, [1931]: 59-60)

Cabell followed with an admiring review in *The Nation* for 2 November 1921, and the American edition of *Messer Marco Polo* was in its 62nd thousandth soon after. Like Dakin twenty-five years later Byrne tells the story of Marco Polo and Golden Bells, with whom the traveller has three years of happiness, then fourteen of solitude mourning her death. The book ends with the aged Kublai Khan telling Marco to go back to Venice, and live again. Golden Bells's spirit, called by the Magician, confirms that Marco should leave. The story is told as a folk-tale in an Irish colloquial dialect by one Malachi Campbell of the Long Glen. At the end, he has Polo say to Kublai Khan, the Magician, and the poet Li Po (called in by the teller's romantic licence from another dynasty):

> 'Well, ... I'll be hitting the road then. I'll not say good-by to any of you. I'll be seeing you all pretty soon again. There's a war on between Venice and the Genoese, and where that's hottest you'll find me, and the quicker my end, the better I'll be pleased. But it would be my luck,' he said bitterly, 'not to be killed, but to be taken prisoner and to end my life in some lousy jail. Oh, well, we'll hope for the best.' He laughed. 'So - so long.' (1923: 146-7)

Donn Byrne himself, though he published twenty-two books, had a tragically short life. On 18 June 1928 his car ran off the road and into the ocean near his new home Coolmain Castle on the wild west Cork coast. The inscription on the Celtic cross marking his grave reads, in the Gaelic and in English: 'I am in my sleeping and don't waken me.'

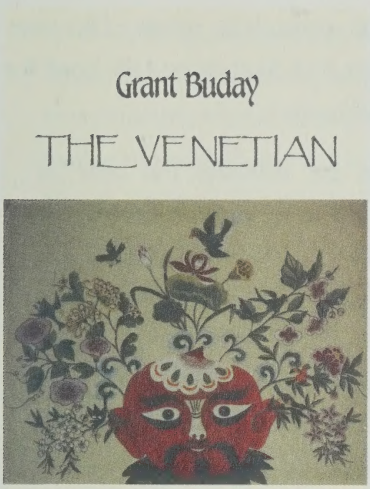
77 Rafael Sabatini (1875-1950). *Columbus: A Romance.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1942.

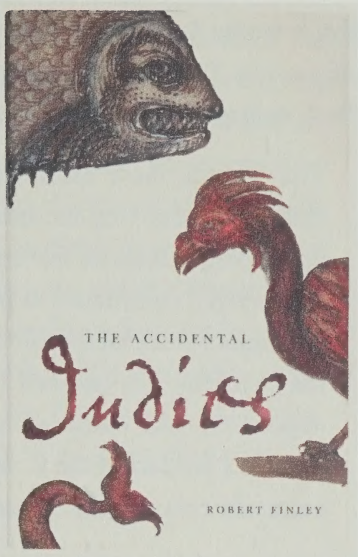
78 Edison Marshall (1894-1967). *Caravan to Xanadu: a Novel of Marco Polo.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953.

The heroes of the novels on Columbus by Sabatini and Marco Polo by Marshall are romantic swashbucklers, though the stories are none the worse for that. Sabatini constructs his novel around the love of Columbus for the beautiful Béatriz Enriquez (the mother of his son and biographer Fernando). A reviewer commented: 'That the author is able to make an enthralling narrative out of a series of events which denies him the full extent of suspense is a tribute to his excellent art as a story teller.'. Marshall's Marco Polo tells his own story of his encounter with the Great Khan and how he won the freedom of his love, the English (!) slave girl Miranda. The reviewer for the *New York Herald Tribune Book Review* notes: 'That the Marco of this book is not exactly the Marco of his own chronicle is of little consequence.'

79 Grant Buday (1956-). *The Venetian*. Lantzville, B.C.: Oolichan Books, 1987.

80 Yuri Rubinsky (1952-1996), and Marc Giacomelli. *Christopher Columbus Answers all Charges*. Erin, Ontario: Porcupine's Quill, 1993.





81 Mark Frutkin (1948-). *The Lion of Venice.* Vancouver: Beach Holme Publishing, 1997.

82 Lillian Bouzane. *In the Hands of the Living God: a Novel.* Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1999.

83 Robert Stuart Martin Finley (1957-). *The Accidental Indies.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.

The last group of books represents recent contributions by Canadian writers to the retelling in fiction of stories from the age of exploration - two novels on Marco Polo, two on Columbus, and one on the Cabot family. Grant Buday's brief novel finds Marco, after twenty-four years in the East, empty, soulless, and fatalistic. The story ends with the death of Kublai Khan during a fireworks display. The reviewer Bruce K. Filson comments that 'in spite of several finely written scenes that make you feel like you're right in the Khan's court, the narrative jerks along clumsily,' though he still sees a fine achievement in the novella. In *Christopher Columbus Answers all Charges* the authors create Columbus's responses to the series of charges history has laid against

him, whether faults in his character or catastrophic results of his journeys and the European conquests. Laila Abdalla reviewed the book for the *Canadian Book Review Annual*, and notes:

> The authors show sensitivity to the rhythms and style of Columbus's thinking and speaking, and have also succeeded in developing a character that exists beyond the pages of the book. One notes a consistency of personality within the responses, a consistency made all the more remarkable by the complexity of the character. The accused is a proud, intelligent, confident, impetuous, and compassionate man. Moreover, he always remains a product of the Renaissance and not a watered-down, politically correct 20th-century version. (1995: 160)

Rubinsky and Giacomelli also adapted and directed Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities* for the 1981 Toronto International Theatre Festival.

Mark Frutkin begins his fictional biography during Marco Polo's imprisonment in Genoa. The story interweaves Polo's past in the service of the Khan and his present in prison, where he dictates his story to a fellow prisoner, the writer of romances Rustichello. The great winged lion of San Marco looms as a constant symbol.

In the Hands of the Living God, the first novel by Newfoundland poet Lillian Bouzane, is made up of diary entries and the letters written and received by Mathye Caboto, the wife of Giovanni better known as John Cabot, who reached Newfoundland in 1497. Much of the action unfolds in Venice, where Mathye is concerned with the care of her sons and her vocation as a musician and choir director. The villain of the piece is Amerigo Vespucci, as the traitorous friend ultimately responsible for the destruction of Cabot's last fleet, and Giovanni's death, in 1498. Other than Queen Isabella, of course, women generally play little more than a decorative role in the history of exploration. Bouzane's novel was chosen as one of the best of the year for 2001 by the *Globe and Mail*.

In her review of Robert Finley's *The Accidental Indies*, Renée Hulan writes:

> ... everything about Robert Finley's book is beautiful: the cover, the paper, the typesetting, the artwork, the prose, and everyone involved in its production deserves high praise for the quality of the craft in it and congratulations for the success it has already enjoyed. Nominated for the Thomas Raddall Atlantic Fiction Award and winner of the inaugural 2001 Cunard First Book Award, *The Accidental Indies* was a national best-seller in the fiction category though it has also been described as a prose poem and, in the author's own words, a 'lyric-story-essay.' Even as it bedevils genre expectations, the book has received widespread and well-deserved acclaim for its dazzling energy and elegant prose. (2002: 318)

All of these books have been praised for the poetic quality of their prose as well as for the careful research that has gone into them. Finley, for example, cites Fernando Colón's biography of his father, Columbus's own diary of his voyages, and the *Histoire naturelle des Indes* from the Pierpont Morgan Library, among others. The conclusion to Finley's novel could stand as an example of the historical awareness of our contemporary writers of the impact of the voyages of the great explorers, and the 'unforeseen effects of Columbus's audacity and destiny.' (Knutson, 2001: 2) Columbus contemplates his souvenirs from the New World:

> six Indians, nearly naked; a dozen parrots, some stuffed, some chained to perches; several trays of artifacts, fruits and samples; a small safe-chest of gold; a golden mask; a few pearls in a copper cup; some cotton cloth. They are meant to stand for something else, the souvenirs, for something more, as islands in the sea suggest a foreign shore. But each, as it is brought in under the light, casts a shadow that, while it is the shadow of the thing itself, is a shadow of forgetting; each thing as it is named and brought forward opens a doorway into the empty room of loss. (2000: 94)

G

H

¶Mundum quidem esse æternum. Cæterum inde non posse sperari perpetuitatem gloriæ ac famæ apud posteros, quando mundo ipso manente, ea quæ in ipso

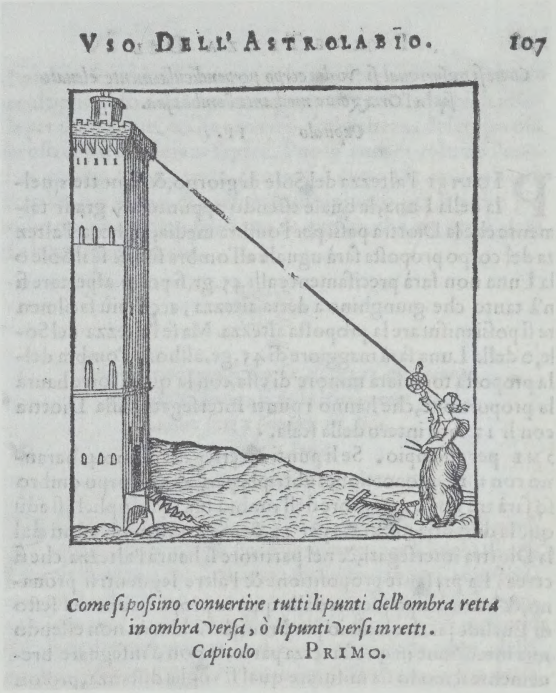
MAPS AND ATLASES

The slow collapse of the Roman world also brought about a loss in geographical knowledge in early medieval Europe. Byzantine scholars knew Ptolemy's *Geographia*, which also came to influence Arab scholars, but only one type of medieval European map retained, in simple form, the concepts of Greek geography. The hemispheric maps of Macrobius show the habitable world of the northern hemisphere and the uninhabited world of the south. These maps are marked with climatic zones and, unlike many medieval world maps, they are oriented with north at the top.

84 Ambrosius Aurelius Theodisius Macrobius (fl. ca. 400). *In Somnium Scipionis expositio*. Cologne: Eucharius Cervicorus, 1521.

Macrobius, an influential neoplatonic grammarian and philosopher, promulgated the idea of a spherical earth with the northern and southern hemispheres separated by an equatorial ocean. The idea of a spherical earth derives from the second-century theory of Crates of Mallus, and in Macrobius's version denotes the winds and ocean currents, and frigid and temperate zones. His *In somnium Scipionis*, the text with which the map is frequently associated, both in manuscript and in printed editions, includes a series of essays on then current notions of physics and astronomy. His proposal of a large southern land mass was an early contribution to the long tradition of unknown lands to the south that influenced South Atlantic and Pacific exploration and charting. If the earth was indeed a sphere then it was a necessity of the laws of physics that for the equilibrium of the sphere to be maintained there exist land masses in the south and west to act as counterbalances to the

masses of the north and east which formed the known inhabited world. The concept of the *Antipodes* was continually debated, and was expressed graphically in the maps of Macrobius, Beatus, the Venerable Bede, and others. When the Americas were discovered, and their great extent eventually circumnavigated and revealed on maps, the long controversy was settled - at least for the western *Antipodes*.


VSO DELL' ASTROLABIO. 107
Come ſi poſsino conuertire tutti li punti dell'ombra retta in ombra verſa, ò li punti verſi in retti.
Capitolo PRIMO.

85 Ignazio Danti (1537-1586). *Primo volume dell'uso et fabbrica dell'astrolabio, et del planisferio.* Florence: Giunti, 1578.

Ignazio, or Egnatio, Danti was a Dominican astronomer and cartographer in the service of Cosimo I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1519-1574). A gilded brass astrolabe made and signed by Danti in Florence around 1570 is preserved in the Museum of the History of Science at Oxford; it is one of the finest Italian astrolabes to have survived from the Renaissance. In 1562 Cosimo had instructed Danti

to prepare large maps (which were hung on the walls in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence), and a large terrestrial globe, which is still preserved. Cosimo also asked Danti to give a good mathematical education to his sons Francesco and Ferdinando. Cosimo died in 1574, and Francesco became grand duke. Francesco, apparently, had not appreciated his mathematical lessons at the Medici palace, and in 1575 Danti was informed that he had twenty-four hours to leave Tuscany. It was Danti who detected the eleven-day error in the calendar, putting it out of step with the solar seasons, though his name is not associated with the final decisions on the Gregorian calendar. In 1583 Pope Gregory XIII appointed him Bishop of Alatri, in appreciation of the work which Danti had undertaken for him in Rome. The first edition of his book *Trattato dell'uso e della fabbrica dell'astrolabio* was published in 1569: it was the first book to be published on the astrolabe in Italy. The second edition shown here contains a description of the instruments he built in the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence: like the first edition it contains the earliest known picture of a woman using a scientific instrument. In his book Danti recommends the type of universal projection found on the back of his 1570 instrument, and also advises the reader to make one in order to understand it fully.

86 *Carta del Cantino: charta del navicare per le isole novamente trovate in la parte de l'India.* Illuminated MS. on vellum, Portugal, 1502. [Facsimile edition, Modena: Il Bulino; Biblioteca estense universitaria, 2004.]

The Carta del Cantino is the earliest surviving map showing the carefully guarded Portuguese discoveries in the east and west. An illuminated manuscript on three vellum leaves, assembled as a chart, it measures 2200 x 1050 mm. Its maker is not known, but it is named after Alberto Cantino, an ambassador and secret agent for Ercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara Modena and Reggio (1431-1505), who successfully smuggled it from Portugal to Italy in 1502. The map is particularly notable for portraying a fragmentary record of the

Brazilian coast, serendipitously discovered in 1500 by the Portuguese explorer Pedro Álvarez Cabral (d. 1520), and subsequently explored and charted by Gonçalo Coelho (fl. 1503-1505) and Amerigo Vespucci. It is also the first to show Newfoundland, recently claimed for Portugal by Gaspar Corte Real (1450?-1501?). It is considered the most beautiful and important illuminated cartographic document of the modern era and the oldest map of the lands of America conserved in Italy. At the beginning of the sixteenth century each updated chart automatically meant the destruction of the previous one, thus explaining the fact that the only other known chart of the period is Juan de la Cosa's *Mappamondo* of 1500. Cantino's chart also illustrates the first division of the world by the then great powers, Spain and Portugal, by means of a supplementary meridian named the *raya* or *linea de demarcación* which defined the precise spheres of influence and therefore the new balance of world power.

The map, together with the rest of the Este library and archive, was transferred to Modena after the failure of the Este line in Ferrara. After

1696 it was held in the Palazzo Ducale, but in 1859 Francesco V was forced to flee Modena by the approach of the armies of Victor Emmanuel II and Napoleon III. The palace was sacked and the map, and much else, was looted. It was recovered by luck in 1870, found mounted on a panel in a pork butcher's shop by Giuseppe Bori, director of the Estense. He returned it to the library, where it remains.

87 Martin Waldseemüller (1470-1521?). *Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomæ traditionem et Americi Vespucii aliorv. que lustrationes*. St. Dié, France: s.n., 1507. [Facsimile, Stuttgart: Schuler-Verlag, 1989?].

Five hundred years ago, on 25 April, 1507, there appeared a little book destined to attain great historical importance. The work, by Martinus Iacomilus, that is, Martin Waldseemüller, was entitled *Cosmographiae introductio*; in English, *Introduction to Cosmography*. The book itself is now extremely rare (seven copies are listed for libraries in the United States), but the large world map published with it, the *Universalis cosmographiae descriptio in plano* was thought to have been lost, despite the stated print run of one thousand copies. In 1901, however, the still unique example was discovered in the Waldburg-Wolfegg'schen Bibliotek at Schloss Wolfegg in Württemberg, and a facsimile edition was published in 1903. The map remained in Germany until 2001, when the United States Library of Congress purchased it from Prince Johannes Waldburg-Wolfegg for ten million dollars. The purchase caused great controversy, both because of the price paid, and because a national treasure was leaving Germany.

The Waldseemüller map is the first separately printed world map, and it is by far the largest and most detailed map published to that date. The huge map consists of twelve sections printed from wood blocks, and arranged in three zones from north to south, each of which contains four sections each measuring 455 x 620 mm. The whole map thus covers over thirty-six square feet (the reduced facsimile shown here covers nine square feet). It represents the earth's form in a

modified Ptolemaic coniform projection, with curved meridians. The map created a model for map publishers which has survived and flourished to the present day. Professor Joseph Fischer, S.J., the man who discovered the surviving copy of the map, wrote:

> The principal basis of Waldseemüller's large mappemonde were no doubt the maps of Claudius Ptolemy, which Waldseemüller knew from the Ptolemy edition published at Ulm in 1486. The *tabulae modernae* of the same edition gave him additional aid in the representation of Italy, Spain, France, and the territories of the North. In designing Germany he made good use of Ezlaub's map for travelers, published a short time previously. Another source of information were the travels of Marco Polo, which he utilized for his designs of northern and eastern Asia as well as of the southern and eastern islands of Asia. ... For his designs of the lands just discovered by the Spaniards and the Portuguese, Waldseemüller, according to his own statement, followed certain sea-charts, *cartas marinas sequuti sumus*. We can prove

positively that Waldseemüller made use of two Portuguese sea-charts in preparing his large map of the world. (1907: 19-20)

The map has a unique historical importance in that it names the New World 'America' for the first time. Waldseemüller had read and been greatly impressed by the accounts of the voyages of Vespucci, which he published with his *Cosmographiae introductio*. The belief, always maintained by Columbus himself, that the West Indies were merely islands off the east coast of Asia, died slowly. But Vespucci apparently divined the truth, that the vast length of the South American coast which he explored was in reality part of a new world. Waldseemüller accepted this view and proposed to honour Vespucci by bestowing his name on the new land. So it was that the continent which might easily have been called Columbia or perhaps New Spain or Terra Nova, was named America, and the name was accepted by other mapmakers. Waldseemüller later revised his opinion, and the name America and the portrait of Vespucci (and the west coast of South America) are absent from his similarly huge 1516 world map *Carta marina navigatoria Portugallen navigationes*, which uses the term 'Terra Nova' and is clearly modelled on the Cantino type of chart. The text to the 1989 facsimile notes:

The distinction and importance of Waldseemüller's map rests on a number of points, but it also contains an insoluble riddle: America is shown as an island continent, having a mountainous west coast, and an ocean beyond that stretching to the east coast of Asia. Yet Magellan's great Pacific voyage was still 15 years in the future, and all other maps until those of the 1520s betray complete uncertainty about the relationship between the New World and Asia. Did Waldseemüller have access to some now unknown account of the Pacific, or was this merely inspired guesswork? His knowledge of America was certainly not accurate in detail, since he shows a strait dividing North from South America, and he shows no passage into the Pacific round the tip

of South America. The enigma remains unresolved, and adds further to the fascination of this superb and most important map.

It should also be pointed out that while the main map shows a strait bisecting the New World, the small cartouche map with Vespucci's portrait shows a continuous land mass.

88 Portolan Atlas of the World. Venice [?], Second half of the sixteenth century.

In the Middle Ages, sea-captains found their way by using their own fund of experience, and books of sailing-directions known as *portolani*, giving lists of ports and the distances between them. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the sea-chart began to appear - maps of Mediterranean coastal outlines drawn over a network of rhumb lines and compass roses - though we still do not know precisely how the charts were used in navigation. However, the accuracy of the coastal outlines in these early charts, apparently based exclusively on empirical knowledge, is startling. These charts, which became known as portolan charts, were first made in the Italian maritime centres of Genoa and Venice, and then in the Catalan region, Sicily, Marseilles, and Alexandria. The late example of the portolan atlas shown here is an illuminated manuscript on vellum, with fifteen charts on thirteen map openings, mounted on both sides of thick pasteboard, and folded concertina-style into the original gold-tooled leather covers. It was probably made as a luxury item rather than as a practical aid to navigation, and it includes maps of the Pacific, North and South Atlantic, and Indian Oceans, as they were known as a result of explorations to about the mid-sixteenth century. There is also a world map, detailed maps of the European coastlines, including the Black Sea, and large-scale maps of the islands of Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, and, from the New World, Hispaniola (that is, Haiti and the Dominican Republic).

TYPVS ORBIS TERRARVM
CIRCVLVS ARCTICVS.
AMERICA SIVE IN-
DIA NOVA.
Nova
Franc.
Chilaga
cia.
Tolm
Toronto
Canada
Florida
Bacalaos
TROPICVS CANCRI
MAR DEL
NORT
AFRICA
Agi
Tymba
Nubia
Abissini
Arabia
Persia
Tartaria
India orien
Chilan
Canchato
CIRCVLVS AEQVINOCTIALIS
Caribana
Peru.
Brasil
Amazones
MAR DEL ZVR
OCEANVS AE
THIOPICVS.
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI.
SVD
MAR DEL
PACIFICO
Chica
Terra del Fuego
Hanc orientem
Australem, nauali
Magellanicum regionem
ab eius inuentore nuncupant.
Phicaorum regio.
CIRCVLVS ANTARCTICVS.
TERRA AVSTRALIS NONDVM COGNITA.
MERIDIES.
QVID EI POTEST VIDERI MAGNVM IN REBVS HVMANIS, CVI AETERNITAS
OMNIS, TOTIVSQVE MVNDI NOTA SIT MAGNITVDO. CICERO:

mauritania
EGIPTO DESERTO
ETHIOPIA
LIBIA
NVBIA
GOA
CALSENA
PESCARIA
MELINDE
EQVINOTTIALE
COSTA DE GVINEA
MANINCO
GOR
CASTILIA
PLORO
TERA D
BRASIL
ILPERV
COLAO
NEGRO
OCCIEANO MERIDIONALE

89 Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598). *Theatrum orbis terrarum.* Antwerp: Plantin, 1584.

90 Abraham Ortelius. *An Epitome of Ortelius, his Theatre of the World.* London: I. Norton, 1610.

91 Gerhard Mercator (1512-1594). *Atlas sive Cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura.* Düsseldorf: Bernardus Busius; heirs of Mercator, 1602.

The map and atlas collections of the Fisher Library have benefitted from the scholarly attentions of Joan Winearls (1993), Anne Dondertman (2000), and Pam Gravenstock (2002), whose exhibition catalogues provide a guide to many of the treasures of cartography to be found in the collections. Each has something useful to say about the atlases of Ortelius and Mercator shown here. Their world maps of 1584 and 1602 are essentially similar, despite the different projections which distort the scales of the lands. In each case the outline of South America is considerably distorted when compared with a modern atlas, and a large and misshapen New Guinea looms just to the north of the 'Terra Australis' which covers most of the area south of the Tropic of Capricorn (and seems to owe its existence to the ideas of Macrobius). Ortelius's map of the Caribbean islands shows the degree of detail, if sometimes uncertain, available to cartographers less than a century after Columbus, while Mercator's map of Asia makes the Malay Peninsula the same size as the Indian subcontinent, and exaggerates the scale of the Indonesian islands.

92 Francesco Giuseppe Bressani (1612-1672). *Novae Franciae accurata delineatio.* [Italy: s.n.], 1657. [Facsimile, Ottawa: Organizing Committee, 1991 Annual Conference of the Association of Canadian Map Libraries and Archives, 1991].

We have already paid some attention to the missionary travels (and travails) of Francesco Giuseppe Bressani in New France (see Case 5). The map of 1657 attributed to him is shown here in a facsimile of the only known original engraving, in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. In the manner of earlier maps - the Carta del Cantino, Waldseemüller, Ortelius, Mercator, and many others - the map of New France is embellished with vignettes: of the activities and artifacts of the first peoples, and of land and sea animals including a beaver, a bear, deer, moose, woodchucks, a whale, and a seal. There is also a map insert, on a larger scale, of Huronia, and the engraving incorporates a scene of the martyrdom of Jean de Brébeuf (1593-1649) and Gabriel Lallemant (1610-1649), with vignettes of other Jesuit martyrdoms.

93 Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457-1526). *De orbe novo decades*. Alicante: Galeria y ediciones Rembrandt, 1984.

This facsimile of the first leaves of a copy of the 1516 edition of Anghiera's *De orbe novo decades* held in the National Library of Spain was published as a contribution to the commemoration of the five hundredth anniversary of the first voyage of Columbus. The Fisher Library holds copy fourteen of the 410 copies printed, of which 350 were for sale. Only fourteen pages of the 1516 edition, which consisted as published of eighty-four folio leaves, have been reproduced as single leaves, and a Spanish translation of the original Latin text is provided, together with essays of introduction and appreciation. Much of the interest of this facsimile edition lies in the seventeen lithographs and forty etchings commissioned from the Ecuadorean painter and sculptor Oswaldo Guayasamín (1919-1999). Guayasamín was born to a native American father and a *mestiza* mother in the capital Quito. A graduate of the School of Fine Arts in Quito, he began to show his work in 1942. An international prize-winner in 1955 and 1957, he continued to exhibit until 1995, when he had shows at the Luxembourg Palace in Paris and the Palais de Glace in Buenos Aires.

He was a lifelong supporter of the poor working people of Latin America, and was awarded a UNESCO prize for 'an entire life of work for peace.' The colour lithographs and etchings that Guayasamín created to accompany the facsimile, published when he was sixty-five, concentrate on the people and the flora and fauna of the New World, and on Columbus and his ships, the later Conquistadors, and the European towns that they left behind them.

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